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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 255



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI' ON DENG'S MISTAKES ON U.S., TAIWAN

OW201243 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Recently some Americans have arbitrarily claimed that, morally or legally speaking, China has no right to oppose U.S. weapons sales to Taiwan. Some U.S. leaders have also said that they have the right to furnish weapons to Taiwan and claim that an oral agreement was reached between Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping and former U.S. President Carter over this issue a long time ago.

Let us now recall the situation when China and the United States restored diplomatic relations. As early as the period of negotiations over these relations, many of our leaders suggested that we should totally stop all relations between the United States and Taiwan and ask the United States to issue an official statement guaranteeing that it would not furnish any kind of weapons to Taiwan.

At that time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping wantonly used his power and did things in a subjective manner. He not only rejected those correct suggestions but also said that in order to serve long-range strategic interests we must not go too far in opposing U.S. weapons sales to Taiwan and that we should stress the development of relations between China and the United States and make concessions if necessary.

Facts have proved that his reasoning is groundless. We must understand that on matters of important principle, especially on the issues of our country's internal affairs and sovereignty, we should never make any concessions. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a compromise and concession on precisely these issues. He refused to accept the opinions of other leading party comrades, acted unilaterally and made decisions on the complicated Taiwan issue in a subjective manner. His oral agreements with Carter included permitting the United States to retain the right to furnish limited quantities of defensive weapons to the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan. As we all know, the Americans now openly state that they have the right to show concern for the security of Taiwan and guarantee the freedom of the people in Taiwan and therefore may furnish modern weapons and military equipment to the Kuomintang authorities. They even stress that since former President Carter and Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping made an oral agreement, China has no right to protest against U.S. actions. Practice has proved that the agreement reached between Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Carter was a mistake and that Comrade Deng Xiaoping was taken in by the Americans. This kind of action actually permits the United States to continue pushing its two China's policy.

Facts have eloquently proved that domestic and foreign policies of great importance must not be handled simply according to a person's subjective will and his own judgement. Any leader is a man, not god. Arbitrary actions on important issues may easily create problems. Moreover, the mistakes committed by a leader will often create very serious consequences for the country and the people.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

POLAND SITUATION REPORT--According to a report by the English-language China daily published in Beijing, a spokesman of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said on 14 December: China has always maintained that Polish affairs should be settled by the Polish people themselves. The spokesman said: China resolutely opposes outside interference. The spokesman said that he hopes that Poland's problems will be properly solved in accordance with the interests of the state and people of Poland. [Text] [OW151235 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1221 GMT 15 Dec 81]

CSO: 4005/362

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS RECRUITED AT ZHEJIANG AGRICULTURAL UNIVERSITY

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 81 p 1

[Article: "Zhejiang Agricultural University Stresses the Recruitment of Party Members From Among the Students"]

[Text] The party organizations at every level at Zhejiang Agricultural University are emphasizing the recruitment of students to be party members, and over the last 2 years they have already recruited 36 new party members. Since these students entered the party they have, with great exuberance, fulfilled the vanguard role in work and study and in the restoration and development of the excellent traditional workstyle of the party.

The leadership at every level of the party at Zhejiang Agricultural University understands that universities are important camps for cultivating talent for the four modernization constructions. Recruitment of party members from schools and universities is a pressing task facing party organizations at every level. The general party branches in every department have seriously established plans, researched down to earth measures and truly put this item of work on the party organization's agenda. The horticulture department took the recruitment of party members from among students to be an important element in managing a socialist university. The leading group of the general party branch acted together and in just over 3 years managed to recruit 5 students from the classes of '77 and '78. In the process of building the party, the party organizations at every level divide the recruitment work among party members and closely coordinate their work. They often carry out political soul-searching campaigns and give activists definite tasks in order to examine them in actual work situations. They attach great importance to education and examination of recruits during the probationary period. And sometimes they give pressing, difficult or new tasks to new party members to allow them to assume heavy responsibilities and to cultivate their organizational spirit and discipline.

After the general party branch of each department recruits a group of party members from among the students, it arouses the political enthusiasm of a large number of their classmates who demand to advance as well. The entire school has already had 255 students write party applications. In the "Xue Leifeng" ["Learn From Leifeng"], "Chuang San Hao" ["Create Three Goods"], "Wu Jiang" ["Five Speeches"] and "Si rei" ["Four Beauties"] campaigns, the entire student body expressed concern for the collective whole and for doing good work, bringing into being a group of activists and an advanced collective.

PARTY AND STATE

RULES GOVERNING TIME LIMITS IN CRIMINAL CASES DECIDED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 81 p 3

[Article: "The Decision of the Zhejiang People's Congress on the Problem of Time Limits for Handling Criminal Cases--(Passed by the 11th Session of the Standing Committee of the 5th People's Congress of Zhejiang Province Held on 1 Nov 1981)"]

[Text] Since the start of 1981, every area of our province has begun to enforce, on a full scale, time limits which are stipulated in the criminal litigation cadre for the handling of criminal cases, and most criminal cases can be concluded within the time limits prescribed by law. But, there remains a small number of criminal cases where circumstances are complex or which are located in areas where communications are not easy which cannot be concluded within the legal time limit. According to the "Decision on the Problem of Time Limits for Handling Criminal Cases" passed by the 20th session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on 10 September 1981, most criminal cases should be handled within the time limits set by criminal litigation law. But a small number of criminal cases in which circumstances are complex or which occur in frontier areas where communications are not easy cannot be concluded in accordance with the time limit prescribed by the criminal litigation code, and so in the 3 years from 1981 to 1983 we can prolong, when appropriate, the period for handling cases. In regard to the problem of extending the period for handling a case, the following decisions were made:

1. Article 92 of the criminal litigation code stipulates that "the period in which an accused can be detained during investigation is limited to 2 months. In complex cases where the time limit has elapsed and the case could not be completed the detention period may be extended for 1 month with the permission of the people's procurate at the next highest level." If after the extension period has elapsed and the case has still not been concluded, the period may be extended for another month with the permission of the provincial people's procurate.
2. Article 97 of the criminal litigation code stipulates that "the cases the security agencies forward for trial or recommend for dismissal should be decided upon by the people's procurate within 1 month. In important or complex cases this period may be extended by half a month." If after the extension period has elapsed, a decision has still not been reached, then the period may be extended for another month with the permission of the people's procurate at the next level.

In all cases where a criminal case over which a mid-level people's procurate has jurisdiction, having been reviewed by the county (prefectural) people's procurate, and where local or municipal branch procurates must decide to either prosecute or drop charges, cannot be concluded within the time prescribed, a 1 month extension may be granted by the provincial people's procurate.

3. Article 125 of the criminal litigation code stipulates that "public prosecutions carried out in people's courts should be decided within 1 month of being received, and are not to exceed 1 and 1/2 months." If a case cannot be decided by the end of this time, the period may be extended 1 month with the permission of the supreme provincial people's court.

4. Article 142 of the criminal litigation code stipulates that "after the People's Court of Second Hearing has entertained case appeals and counterarguments, it should make its decision within 1 month, or in a period not to exceed 1 and 1/2 months." If after this time a case has still not been decided, then an extension of 1 month can be granted with the permission of the Supreme Provincial People's Court.

5. Individual cases which have not been decided by the end of an extension period and require a further extension of time must be approved by the standing committee of the provincial people's congress.

Those cases which require an extended period of time to be handled must be strictly handled in strict adherence to the spirit of the above system of review. Criminal cases which seriously endanger the social order must be firmly handled in accordance with the principle of "with due propriety and haste in accordance with the law."

9705

CSO: 4005/281

PARTY AND STATE

THREE ASPECTS OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT DISCUSSED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Lin Zhenkun [2651 2182 0981]: "Essence of Mao Zedong Thought"]

[Text] The "Resolution on the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation" points out: "Threading through the standpoint, viewpoint and method of the various components discussed above, the soul of Mao Zedong Thought consists of three basic aspects, viz., seeking the truth from the facts, the mass line, and independence." These constitute the essence of Mao Zedong Thought which should be understood and mastered by us in our studies.

The soul, the most fundamental thing in a theory, is where the substance and vitality are found. The soul of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is their standpoint, viewpoint and method. By summarizing the history of man's understanding and the practical experiences of the proletariat, Marx and Engels first created dialectic materialism and historical materialism, the scientific world philosophy, and formed a set of scientific standpoints, viewpoints and methods to observe and analyze issues before they were able to correctly analyze the capitalist economy and politics, reveal their laws of development and create the Marxist political economy and the scientific socialist theory. As Marxism correctly reveals the objective laws of social development and explains the historical mission of the proletariat and the road of liberation, all its basic principles and conclusions possess a universal significance. With the changes and developments of the conditions, the concrete conclusions in Marxism will finally be replaced by new conclusions, but its standpoint, viewpoint and method will exist forever and continuously guide us to enrich and develop Marxism. For this reason, we feel that the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method are the most fundamental things of Marxism; they are where its boundless vitality is found. Engels said: "The entire world philosophy of Marx is not a doctrine, but a method. What it provides is not ready-made dogmas, but the starting point and the method for further studies." Comrade Mao Zedong always regarded the standpoint, viewpoint and method of Marxism as its soul and substance and repeatedly urged the entire party to learn and master them from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Mao Zedong Thought is the scientific system formed by the Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong by analyzing the epochal

characteristics of China's revolution and its national conditions with the standpoint, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism and epitomizing the experiences and lessons in China's revolutionary practice. The soul threading through this system is the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method. What is different is that Comrade Mao Zedong clearly summarized them into seeking the truth from the facts, the mass line, and independence, the three basic aspects, thereby endowing the standpoint, viewpoint and method of Mao Zedong Thought with the characteristics of the Chinese communists and enriching and developing Marxism-Leninism.

By proposing seeking the truth from the facts, the mass line, and independence, the three basic aspects, the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method are concretized and systematized and the issue of theory guiding practice solved. As the Marxist philosophy is highly abstract, to convert the dialectic materialist and historical materialist principles into the standpoint, viewpoint and method and achieve their guiding effect on practice, a series of intermediate links must be solved before they could be grasped by the masses. By proposing the three basic aspects and grasping the three basic relations, Comrade Mao Zedong provided the fundamental guidance to practice. The relations between man and the objective world are those between thought and existence and between the subjective and the objective. These are the most fundamental relations and the issue requiring primary solution in practice. Comrade Mao Zedong summarized the way for the fundamental truths of dialectic materialism to solve such relations and attain the unity of the subjective and the objective as seeking the truth from the facts. He unified materialism, dialectics and epistemology and explained that the basic point of the dialectic materialist understanding line is to start from reality and link theory with practice, and that it is integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution, thereby solving the issue of the party's ideological line. The practice of reforming the world is a social activity. The masses are the principal part of social practice, and, to reform the world effectively, we must correctly handle the relationship between the leaders and the masses and between the political party and the masses, which is a basic relationship emerging in social practice. Comrade Mao Zedong summarized the fundamental truths of historical materialism and our party's historical experiences as the mass line, expounded the necessity for a Marxist to uphold the principle of everything for the masses and relying on the masses for everything and to practice the principle of from the masses and to the masses, unified epistemology and historical materialism, and solved our party's basic political and organizational lines and its leadership and work methods. The relationship between the internal and external causes is also a basic relationship in practice which must be solved. According to dialectic materialism, the inherent contradiction in a thing, i.e., the internal cause, is the basis, while the link between things, i.e., the external cause, is the condition, and the external cause will only produce an effect through the internal cause. Comrade Mao Zedong summarized this truth and proposed independence and self-reliance as the basic policy for our party to guide the revolution and construction. Obviously we, in the past, underestimated its significance by interpreting it as the policy to guide economic construction. Actually, whether revolution or construction, as long as the work involved is of an overall nature, this

principle must be followed. Independence and self-reliance are the inevitable conclusion when we start from China's reality and rely on the masses in the revolution and construction. Meanwhile, only by adhering to the principle of independence and self-reliance will we truly uphold the principle of seeking the truth from the facts and the mass line, because, if we abandon independence, we will disregard the national conditions and fail to recognize the strengths of the masses. Seeking the truth from the facts, the mass line, and independence form a whole, incisively epitomizing the substance of the proletarian world philosophy.

By proposing seeking the truth from the facts, the mass line, and independence, the three basic aspects, the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method are nationalized and popularized. Comrade Mao Zedong was expert in integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution. He successfully accomplished the arduous task of making Marxism Chinese. The task included work in two aspects: The first was taking the universal truths of Marxism as the guide to make scientific interpretations and theoretical explanations of China's economic, political, military and cultural issues and create new truths and new conclusions suitable to China's national conditions, such as the six basic theories enumerated in the "Resolution." The second was expounding the fundamental truths of Marxism and explaining the new truths and new conclusions in the popular language of the Chinese people. Proposing seeking the truth from the facts, the mass line, and independence was the important aspect of nationalizing the Marxist theories, and the proposal is couched in the national and popular language familiar to the Chinese people, thereby converting the Marxist theories from their European form into the Chinese form, making it possible for the masses to understand and master the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method, and turning them into the tools of understanding and weapons of struggle for the broad masses.

By proposing seeking the truth from the facts, the mass line, and independence, the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method are defined as the party's basic line and policy, threading through the revolutionary activities of the Chinese communists in a conscious form. It is an important symbol of the characteristics of the Chinese communists created with the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method. Right from the first article in "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," the spirit of following the road of China's revolution by linking theory with practice, relying on the masses, and independence was manifested, and it attained perfection and maturity by the time of the Yanan rectification movement, making seeking the truth from the facts the party's ideological line, the starting point of all its work and the criterion of the party character, the mass line the basis of its fundamental political and organizational lines and its leadership and work methods, and independence and self-reliance the basic policy to guide the revolution and construction and the compass of all the party's work. Therefore, summarizing the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method into seeking the truth from the facts, the mass line, and independence is an important sign of the theoretical maturity of our party and a major development of Marxism-Leninism.

6080

CSO: 4005/312

PARTY AND STATE

'NOT MAKING WAVES' ATTITUDE CRITICIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Shu Lin [2579 2651]: "What Is So Good About a 'Good Old Boy'?"]

[Text] The tag, "good old boy," has its subtle meanings. When someone refers to someone as a "good old boy," it is, to be sure, mainly a kind of criticism and reproach, but within that there is also an affirmative, commendable meaning. The "good old boy" is after all a good guy! Because this is so, the tag, "good old boy," generally doesn't induce much of a disagreeable reaction in people and the image of a "good old boy" doesn't cause revulsion in people. Some people are even perfectly satisfied being a "good old boy."

Of course, the "good old boy" of which I speak is generally always one who minds his own business and doesn't break the law or breach discipline or engage in wrongs with benefit to himself at the expense of others. In this sense, he still belongs in the category of good guys, and cannot be considered a bad guy. However, upon serious analysis the question of what is so good about a "good old boy" is actually worth a little study.

A Communist Party member, in questions of principle, should uphold the truth forthrightly and clearly. In regard to matters bearing on the tasks of the party and the interests of the state and the people, he must clearly express his own attitudes--what he supports and what he opposes. And a "good old boy," in questions of principle, is always tongue-tied, vague and equivocal, with an ambiguous attitude. When faced with a matter of the greatest importance he neither nods his head nor shakes it, but glares with one eye and closes the other.

A Communist Party member, in relations with his comrades, should actively carry out criticism and self-criticism, and struggle against all incorrect ideologies and mistaken tendencies. A "good old boy" does just the opposite. Whether in regard to those above or those below, to those of the left or those of the right, he picks only blossoms and never thorns. It is always 'you're okay, I'm okay,' everyone in harmonious unity. In all matters he follows the principle of not offending others. Some even go so far as to play deaf and dumb in ignoring the evil persons and matters that they run smack into.

More than 40 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong in "Combat Liberalism" listed 11 expressions of liberalism. Several of them, such as: to let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well

what is wrong; to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame; to see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, dissuade or stop him or reason with him, but allow him to continue, etc., are actually the attitude of a "good old boy." Comrade Mao Zedong acutely pointed out: This is a vulgar, corrupt work style and corrosively eats away at our party and revolutionary troops. In fact, this is just the way it is. If a unit takes the path of a "good old boy," then inevitably rewards and punishments will be ambiguous, right and wrong will be unclear, the proper atmosphere will be suppressed, an improper atmosphere will arise, the party organization will be weak and disorganized, the principles and policies of the party will not be well implemented, improper tendencies will not be resisted and corrected, and work problems will be ignored for long periods and never solved. If the majority of our party members and cadres, especially leading cadres, are "good old boys," our party will lose its fighting capacity.

There were "good old boys" in the past and now they are even more common. The reasons creating this situation are numerous. In 10 years of unrest, the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing clique promoted a philosophy of attacking people, forcing the people to follow in a struggle against "capitalist roaders." Many comrades were dissatisfied with their perversities, but it was no good struggling openly against them and all they could do as a means of resistance was to remain silent and avoid confrontation. We can understand these actions and should sympathize with them. But, unfortunately, this went on for a long time and some comrades formed this kind of habit and felt that this way of acting would at least allow them to maintain a peaceful life, and so they no longer thought about struggling. Still other comrades could not help being influenced by seeing those persons who dared to be responsible, to struggle and to uphold principles being criticized the most fiercely and attacked the most severely, while some "good old boys" who didn't normally work hard and never offended anyone had no problems at all. These comrades all learned negative lessons and came to feel that being a "good old boy" was best. This led to an increase in the number of "good old boys" in our party and in society.

At present, our party style and the social atmosphere have yet to take a basic turn for the better. We still need to do a large amount of work and to expend great effort. The Central Committee of the party calls for actively carrying out criticism and self-criticism and for overcoming the weak and disorganized situation on the ideological front. Under these circumstances, the damage done by the "good old boys" becomes even clearer. We can say that the vast number of "good old boys" has already become a serious obstacle to our correcting the party style and changing the social atmosphere, and a serious obstacle to carrying out socialist construction. We should loudly shout:

What is so good about a "good old boy?"

Communist party members must never be "good old boys."

9705

CSO: 4005/251

PARTY AND STATE

LEADING BODIES MUST SET EXAMPLE IN DOING FINE WORK

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Li Jin [7812 6651] and Guo Zhong [0948 1813]: "Leading Organs Must Act as Models"]

[Text] In an effort to implement the Party Central Committee's instructions, the party congress of central organs has called on central organs to act as national models, declaring that they have the responsibility and obligation to take fundamental steps to rectify their style of work, to change social practices, and to swiftly restore our excellent tradition. As soon as this news spread, it drew lavish praise from the people, who consider this appeal an action of vital significance which will have a bearing on our fundamental efforts to improve the party's workstyle and social practices. In this connection, the people often stress the vanguard role assumed by the leadership. Doing so is correct, but it will remain far from adequate until leading organs are mobilized behind this call. Leading comrades must closely coordinate with their leading organs in discharging their duties as leaders and models. Only in this way can they set an example for the entire party and society to follow and for the party to take swift action to restore its excellent tradition.

Leading organs are the nerve centers, bridges, and links in providing services for the grassroots units and the broad masses. How they behave not only will have a direct impact on the implementation of the party's principles and policies but also will, in a certain sense, reflect the image of the party. Today, we have a few leading organs whose morale is low, whose workstyle needs to be rectified, and whose working spirit is in a state of disarray and weakness. In some offices, workers have devoted their time simply to "drinking tea, reading newspapers, engaging in funny conversation, and venting their grievances"; this is their daily routine of business. This state of mind is certain to have the effect of demoralizing the masses. Such a spectacle cannot be allowed to continue to develop.

Leading comrades are closely associated with leading organs. If we want to change the party's workstyle completely, leading comrades not only should take the initiative themselves in this direction but also should secure the services of their close associates. Central organs should act as national models, while organs at the provincial, municipal, and county level should set an example for their specific localities to follow. Undoubtedly, only after those at the top set an example for those at the bottom to follow can the official style of work be rectified to bring about a complete change in social practices.

PARTY AND STATE

EFFICIENT MANAGEMENT OF SERVICES FOR RETIRED CADRES URGED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Commentator: "We Must Do a Good Job of Providing Services for Old Cadres"]

[Text] Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, much has been done by party organizations at all levels throughout the province to provide shelter and care for old cadres. Many old cadres who have retired to the second and third lines of duty are now jubilantly leading a stable, happy life in their later years in an environment where the elderly are treated with respect and supplied with what they need. This has come after action was taken to relieve them of their worries about their logistic support. But an overall survey shows that the development of this work is still not well balanced and that it falls far behind the goal. Many units have paid little attention to work dealing with old cadres, and have failed in their duty to strengthen their leadership for this purpose and to put related measures into effect. Some units have failed to make conscientious efforts to convey fully and thoroughly to recipients the instructions and documents of the Central Committee and the provincial party committee dealing with old cadres. Some old comrades who have retired from the first line of duty have been deprived of the privilege of respectful treatment and care they deserve, and have been denied opportunities to read documents and attend briefings. Difficulties in providing them with housing, medical care, transportation, and other daily necessities remain to be solved. Former snobbish practices still exist in some units. Individuals with "sensitive, snobbish eyes" still tend to "hold those still in power in high esteem and others no longer in power with contempt." Such tendencies clash with the expectations of the Central Committee, and therefore they should be changed as soon as possible.

Old cadres are valuable assets of the party and state. They have gone through thick and thin and have experienced countless frustrations in the service of the revolutionary cause. They have also made important contributions to the party and the people. Today, after retiring these old and physically weak comrades to the second and third lines of duty, we must take good care of their political interests and material well-being. Doing so should be regarded as the party's policy and a matter of important principle which should be observed by all party members, as well as a political task to be fulfilled by them. Whether or not this work can be accomplished is not only a question that will have a bearing on cadres who have retired or taken leave from office but also a matter of great concern that will have an impact on whether our party can carry on its unfinished business and blaze a path to the future and prosperity, as well as on whether our nation can long live in peace and preserve order. For this reason, we must regard the management of services for retired old cadres as a very important political task to be fulfilled thoroughly.

As time goes on, the work of dealing with old cadres seemingly faces more difficulties than ever. Leadership at all levels on the ideological front must attach great importance to this work, effectively strengthen their leadership, and overcome the erroneous notion of regarding old cadres as "baggage" and the work of dealing with their welfare as "an extra burden." Party committees at all levels must include the work of dealing with old cadres as an important item on their agenda. Each party committee should appoint a responsible comrade to take over this work, so that it can devote himself promptly to studying the related situation, planning regular investigations, and making specific arrangements in accordance with the Central Committee's principles, policies, and regulations and in a way that takes into account the actual conditions of his own unit. Agencies to be staffed by professional cadres working for the management of services for retired cadres should be established as soon as possible by various units in order to strengthen this work and to truly become a home for old cadres. Their task is to implement the relevant measures and to combine general directives with specific guidance. Work must be carried out meticulously, enthusiastically, patiently, and carefully. For example, detailed schedules must be worked out so that every old cadre can have access to documents, attend briefings and necessary meetings, receive medical care and car services, settle down in a new home, participate in cultural activities, and be supplied with daily necessities. We must ensure that the political status and material benefits to which they are entitled should be rated higher instead of lower than old cadres now still in power. Leading comrades who are still in power should act as models and play a leading role in showing concern and respect for old comrades who have retired to the second and third lines of duty. In the course of resettling old cadres, we should show generosity and a willingness to spend some money. We must set aside necessary financial and material resources for this purpose and organize forces from various sectors to put into effect the relevant regulations of the Central Committee and the provincial party committee. Only in this way can we make the party's warmth felt by every old cadre.

In the course of carrying out the work of dealing with old cadres, we must widely mount a propaganda and education campaign to create a healthy climate inside and outside the party--a climate in which the elderly and worthies are treated with respect. Honoring and cherishing old cadres should be viewed as an important aspect in the construction of our spiritual civilization. By means of propaganda and the educational media, we can help the broad masses to gain a better understanding of old cadres' contributions, and teach [the masses] to emulate their revolutionary spirit and to inherit and carry forward the party's glorious tradition and excellent workstyle.

The decision to retire a large number of old cadres from the first line of duty is an expression of the party's concern for old comrades. It will also put them in a better position to serve their nation. The decision to retire old comrades means retiring their work to the second and third lines of duty. This does not mean bringing the process of their thinking to a standstill. They must continue to promote the party's excellent tradition and workstyle and must act as models in the course of building our socialist spiritual civilization. At present, our nation still faces financial difficulties. Conscientious efforts must be made to meet the reasonable demands put forward by old comrades who have retired to the second and third lines of duty, and to solve problems whose solutions are within our reach.

As for those problems whose solutions are beyond our reach at present, we must clearly explain the reasons to them. We believe that our old comrades will take the national interests and the overall situation into consideration and will sympathetically understand our nation's difficulties. As long as the leadership at all levels attaches importance to ideological work and presses forward with this work, and as long as leading organs can act as models in this respect, new successes in providing services for old cadres can be expected.

9574

CSO: 4005/303

PARTY AND STATE

CLASSES ON STANDARDS OF TRUTH ARRANGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 81 p 4

[Article: "Zhangjiakou Prefecture Sets Up Classes Discussing Standards of Truth"]

[Text] The Zhangjiakou Prefectural Party Committee, having been realigned, has recently made a decision to seriously go about setting up remedial classes throughout the prefecture which will discuss how "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth." This will be done in order resolutely to implement the line of the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, to further eliminate the influence of leftist ideology and to attain the excellent situation of the entire nation.

The overt support for but secret violation of the series of principles and policies and the notions of standards of truth established since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee on the part of the primary leadership contingent originally comprising the Zhangjiakou prefectural committee seriously obstructed and caused long-term difficulties for all items of work throughout the prefecture (such as realizing the rural economic policy, redressing cases of injustice and abuse of power, realigning leadership groups, etc.).

In July of this year the leading group on the prefectural committee was adjusted. On the basis of penetrating and widespread survey research, the prefectural committee realized that the key reason that the work of Zhangjiakou had for a long time not shown signs of improving lied in the fact that the party members, cadres and masses of the entire prefecture had not carried out discussions of the standards of truth and had not seriously eliminated the influence of the residual poison of the left. Because of this, there was a need to set up remedial classes to discuss standards for truth.

Zhang Shuguang, the first secretary of the Zhangjiakou Prefectural Party Committee not long ago at a meeting of party members and cadres made a guidance report and by using a vast amount of information on the actual situation clarified the need for carrying out discussions of the standards of truth in Zhangjiakou Prefecture.

At present, discussions of the problem of the standards of truth have already enthusiastically begun in both rural and urban areas through Zhangjiakou Prefecture. Many county party committees and some departments directly responsible to the prefecture separately convened meetings in various forms and successively carried out serious discussions. Many departments are still preparing to make discussion of the problem of standards of truth one of the primary classes when carrying out the standard routine training of party members and cadres this winter.

9705

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PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO USE THEIR BRAINS, SHUN PERFUNCTORY ATTITUDE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Bu Chengwen [0592 2110 2429]: "One Must Think Assiduously"]

[Text] For cadres, it is not very easy to maintain an austere lifestyle; it is even harder to maintain a habit of assiduous thinking at work.

There are at least several thousand chiefs of public finance bureaus in units above the county level throughout the country, but very few, after all, are like Tian Xinyi [3944 2946 3015], the chief of the public finance bureau of Fushun Municipality, who thinks so assiduously and so profoundly and farsightedly, and who is able to offer real knowledge and deep insight about his work. We can imagine that if leading cadres on the financial front throughout the country and, by extension, if leading cadres on all fronts, can conduct themselves like Comrade Tian Xinyi, our affairs will for sure prove much easier to handle.

Among our cadres, there are also those who while away their whole day sitting in their offices and dozing off, but far more comrades keep themselves busy and diligent all day while not knowing how to use their heads--or, it might be said, they fail to do any assiduous thinking. The result is often this: It looks as though the work at their places is being carried on normally, but little liveliness can be seen and little creativity is shown. No foresight is demonstrated in the handling of this work, nor is any long-range planning or target for struggle discernible. Problems that should be solved somehow remain unsolved, and matters that should be handled are often not grasped.

Under similar working conditions, whether or not cadres are willing to use their heads and think about their problems makes a lot of difference.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the series of principles and policies formulated by the party Central Committee have been well supported by the masses. Correct policies can demonstrate their powerful effect only when they are implemented with due consideration being given to the specific situations in the various localities and units. An important reason why the work of some units shows no special vigor for long periods of time and

exhibits little change in its outlook is that the leading cadres there are still used to serve merely as a "mail office" and a "reception office." With respect to the spirit of the central authorities and their instructions, they customarily issue documents or hold meetings, stating "in view of the above, we therefore," and so forth, and copying everything mechanically. As for how these instructions are going to be carried out and what problems need to be solved, they give little thought, let alone think about it assiduously. Such comrades are somewhat like the well-known "three edicts prime minister" Wang Gui of the Song Dynasty, who, serving as prime minister for some 10 years, scored no major achievements but concentrated only on "obtaining imperial edicts, acknowledging imperial edicts, and conveying imperial edicts."

The special characteristic of our era is inheriting from the past and opening up for the future. In order to push forward the enterprise of socialist construction, many things await reform and many problems await exploration. The Party Central Committee repeatedly asks cadres of the whole party to pay attention to new situations, study new problems, sum up new experiences, and open up new vistas. But some of our comrades somehow feel too lazy to even use their heads. In that part of the work of which they are in charge, what is followed is all old stuff with respect to the guiding ideology, content of work, methods of work, and workstyle. They are unwilling to conduct new experiments or new explorations. There is an inveterate system of several decades' standing, as they always attempt to solve all new problems by means of the old stuff but find in the end that things often run counter to their wishes or that things simply get messed up.

Of course, there is still another kind of people. In their case, if we were to say that they do not use their heads at all, that would be doing them an injustice. In trying to establish connections, knocking on back doors, making job arrangements for their children, occupying public housing or building their own private houses, they do indeed spend a lot of brainwork, and it may even be said that they often "rack their brains" over these things. It is a pity, however, that their intelligence and talent are used in the wrong places. Their heads are stuffed with malignantly inflated thoughts of personal gain, and therefore there naturally is very little room for such things as revolutionary will and sense of responsibility at work.

Assiduous thinking is not unfounded, nonsensical thinking or narrow cudgeling of one's brains. One requirement is to do some reading, including Marxist works, and also including various [works of] cultural, scientific and professional knowledge, in order to broaden one's own vision and train of thought and raise one's ability to analyze problems. A second requirement is to conduct investigation and study, understand the masses' thinking and demands, understand the situations and problems in one's practical work, and thereby acquire the material and foundation for one's thinking. The reason why Comrade Tian Xinyi is able to come up with quite insightful views in his work in public finance is inseparable from the fact that for a long time he has insisted on learning and carrying out investigation and study.

In a well-known talk in 1944, Comrade Mao Zedong called upon cadres throughout the party to put down their burdens, use their brains, think more, and think assiduously. At that time our party was just summing up its historical experience and lessons, unifying the thinking of the whole party, and preparing to assume even more important responsibilities in struggling for the great victories of the anti-Japanese war and the liberation of all of China. At present, we are facing a similarly important moment. As for the summing up of past history, this has already been accomplished by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. We have put down our heavy historical burdens and are just ready to march ahead in light gear. In order to realize the magnificent goals of building a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization, we likewise need to promote the use of our brains and assiduous thinking among the cadres of the whole party.

"If we both put down our burdens and use our brains, and we are both in light gear and adept in our thinking, then we are bound to be victorious."

925

CSO: 4005/248

PARTY AND STATE

FOLLOWING ORDERS, RESPECTING PROHIBITIONS CALLED FOR

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Nov 81 p 8

[Article by Chen Fen [7115 1164] and Pan Chuntao [3382 2504 3447]: "A Few Remarks on 'Following Orders and Respecting Prohibitions'"]

[Text] "Following orders and respecting prohibitions" sounds as if it were a matter of common sense. "Orders" should be resolutely carried out; "prohibitions" should be resolutely respected. The reasoning is extremely simple and clear.

But extremely simple matters are not simply accomplished. In daily life, "orders" not being followed and "prohibitions" not being respected are common occurrences. Even though the state issues documents and sends down directives prohibiting the excessive use of monetary rewards, there are still those who knowingly violate the prohibition and continue to act as is their custom. At present, there is still more than 1 month until the end of the year and yet some units are already busy getting ready and starting to give out monetary rewards. Some units are afraid of "getting caught" giving out monetary rewards and so have switched to practical gifts, such as woolen yarn, woolen goods, clothes, bed sheets and even other fine merchandise--truly a great variety of things are used. These are called "benefits," but in reality they are another form of monetary reward. The result is that this one gets his pears and that one gets his peaches and both are happy. In order to avoid being caught by the higher-ups, some units will always make "burnt offerings" so that those above "shut" their mouths and they can "proceed" apace. Therefore, "following orders and respecting prohibitions" becomes an empty phrase.

That some "orders" are not followed and some "prohibitions" are not respected is a manifestation of improper party style which seriously obstructs the thorough implementation of the line, principles and policies of the party. But some persons, nonetheless, do not feel this way, believing instead that you cannot go wrong when you are thinking of the masses. The interest of the masses, which these people are thinking is actually only the interest of their "small family." The masses they think of are actually a small minority which includes them. We Communist Party members are planning wholeheartedly for the interests of the majority and so must consider the interests of the state, while also attending to the interests of the collectives and individuals; we must consider the immediate interests of the masses and also the long-term interests of the masses. Not seeing this and invariably being enthusiastic about the interests of individuals and the "small family" is in its

nature a kind of extremely narrow utilitarianism. Openly adhering to but covertly violating the "orders" and "prohibitions" of superiors, with each unit acting as they are "required," inevitably encroaches on the collective interest of the state, imperiling and damaging our entire cause. The greater the benefit for these so called "masses," the greater the damage to the state and the entire people. Having destroyed the collective interest of the state--well, where will the hair grow when the skin is missing? We can see that "following orders and respecting prohibitions" is a serious matter relating to the overall situation and the collective whole.

"Following orders and respecting prohibitions" is an important means of enabling us to thoroughly implement revolutionary discipline and is a fundamental requirement of the proletarian party character. Proletarian discipline is iron discipline, and in order to have iron discipline orders must be backed by authority and prohibitions must be backed by severity. Only in this way can we maintain unanimity at all levels and singlemindedly carry out the four modernization constructions. Because of this, "following orders and respecting prohibitions" is a touchstone and a standard for measuring a revolutionary's devotion to the cause. If everyone can face the actual conditions of their unit or department and actually grasp and grasp well "following orders and respecting prohibitions," then the various improper tendencies that exist in our political, economic and ideological-cultural areas will lose their support and their marketplace, and our troops will march in step and be immeasurably strengthened.

9705

CSO: 4005/252

PARTY AND STATE

DIALECTICS CLOSELY TIED TO ACTUAL PRACTICE STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Zhou Baoxi [0719 1405 3886]: "From the Particular to the General, and Again From the General to the Particular"]

[Text] In his "On Contradictions," Comrade Mao Zedong profoundly analyzed the relationship between the generality and particularity of contradictions and explicated the normal order of man's perception, that is, his thoughts on the two processes of perception, from the particular to the general and from the general to the particular. Understanding these two processes of perception may help us correctly master the methods of thinking, methods of work, and methods of leadership.

Like "On Practice," "On Contradictions" was written mainly for the sake of overcoming the serious dogmatic thinking which existed in the party at the time. Dogmatists took Marxism as dogma, deviated from actualities and deviated from the masses, and hence caused the Chinese revolution to suffer serious setbacks. Ideologically speaking, they merely stressed the universality of contradictions, stressing the general but overlooking the particularity of contradictions. They undercut the dialectical relationship between the general and the particular, knowing neither the origin of the general nor the principle that the general must return to the particular. Hence, "On Contradictions," points out: "With regard to the sequence in the movement of man's knowledge, there is always a gradual growth from the knowledge of individual and particular things to the knowledge of things in general. Only after man knows the particular essence of many different things can he proceed to generalization and know the common essence of things. When man attains the knowledge of this common essence, he uses it as a guide and proceeds to study various specific things which have not yet been studied, or studied thoroughly, and to discover the particular essence of each. Only in this way is he able to supplement, enrich and develop his knowledge of their common essence and prevent such knowledge from withering or petrifying."

Everybody knows that things in general can be attained only through abstraction; we cannot master them by our senses but only by our thinking. But no matter how correct, abstract generalities are definitely not groundlessly produced in one's mind, nor dropped down from heaven, but are only summed up through our perception of particular things. Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out that many of our

comrades do not know where man's correct ideas come from, nor how correct principles and policies are formulated. What he was talking about was precisely this principle: We must understand that the general comes from the particular--that theory comes from practice. If we forego the process of carrying out a large amount of penetrating investigation and study with respect to actual situations, but proceed to issue orders on the basis of subjective imagination, then the principles and policies thus formulated must be hollow and erroneous. We must overcome this kind of leadership method.

What merits even greater attention on our part is the latter process of perception--that is, from the general back again to the particular. The party Central Committee has already formulated correct principles and policies; how should we implement them? Two different methods are available: one is the method of proceeding from the general to the general, while the other is the method of proceeding from the general to the particular.

Some of our comrades always think that, since that which constitutes a correct perception of things is universally applicable, then we can solve problems simply by taking the general as a ready conclusion and formula and cutting realities accordingly. They think that since the central principles and policies are correct, it will do if we simply repeat what they say and apply them mechanically everywhere. This thinking method and leadership method of proceeding from the general to the general serve to develop a bureaucratic workstyle. They not only will turn correct principles and policies into pieces of hollow text on paper but also, in some cases, will turn correct principles and policies into blind commands, causing bad consequences, and then turn around to complain that the principles and policies issued from above were "wrong" in the first place. It is very appropriate that Comrade Mao Zedong called these comrades "ideological lazybones."

We can adopt the latter method only by returning the general back again to the particular. This is because the general is generalized from the particular. It is the common essence of various things, and is their common characteristic. We must see this situation of the general and the particular being connected to, yet different from, each other. It is entirely necessary to understand the general essence of things. None of our undertakings can depart from the guidance of the party's correct theories, principles and policies. If we partially emphasize the particularity of our own undertakings, in violation of the party's principles and policies, we are bound to embark upon a devious road. But when we have the particular guided by the general, we must also see the special characteristics of the particular. Only after we have studied the specific situations of our own units and our own localities and have understood the individual characteristics of such specific situations can we combine generality with particularity and correctly implement the principles and policies from above. In similar cases of applying the production responsibility system, between this and that front, between agriculture and industry, between this and that locality, or even between different workshops of the same factory and between different types of work in the same workshop, there are always different situations which require different approaches and which cannot be treated with arbitrary uniformity.

Concrete things not only are infinitely abundant and complicated but also continue to change and develop. Therefore, we must continue to study new situations and discover new problems, and generalize common principles therefrom in order to supplement, enrich, and develop the original principles and policies. Only thus will our perception of the common essence of things (the general) avoid becoming withered or petrified and remain vital and develop.

Hence, only after mastering the dialectics between the two processes of perception, from the particular to the general and again from the general to the particular, can we be said to have fully understood Marxist epistemology. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" points out: "Comrade Mao Zedong expounded and elaborated the law of the unity of opposites, the nucleus of Marxist dialectics. He indicated that we should not only study the universality of the contradiction in objective things, but, what is more important, we should study its particularity, and that we should by different methods resolve contradictions that are different in nature. Therefore, dialectics should not be viewed as a formula to be learned by rote and applied mechanically, but should be closely linked with practice and with investigation and study, and should be applied flexibly." This is very important.

9255

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PARTY AND STATE

NEW BOOK BY HISTORIAN HU SHENG REVIEWED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Deng Weizhong [6772 5898 0022]: "Vivid Text of Patriotism--Review of Hu Sheng's [5170 4939] New Book, 'From the Opium War to the 4 May Movement'"]

[Text] "From the Opium War to the 4 May Movement," written by the famous historian Hu Sheng, has been published by the People's Publishing House. This academic work systematically recounts the major historical events from the Opium War to the 4 May Movement, summarizes the courageous struggles of the people against foreign aggressors and domestic traitors and strongly extols the patriotic spirit of the Chinese people.

Comrade Hu Sheng has his own views on the divisions of China's modern history. His article on "the Issue of Divisions of China's Modern History" in 1954 launched a discussion in the academic world. In it, he first advanced the thesis that Taiping Tianguo, Yihetuan and the Revolution of 1911 were the three revolutionary high tides in China's modern history. In the basic structure of his new book, the author takes the three revolutionary high tides as the center to unfold the panorama of history. He disagrees with considering the "Westernization Movement--the 1898 Reform Movement--the 1911 Revolution" as the progressive current in the history of that period, and expounds China's modern history with Taiping Tianguo, Yihetuan and the 1911 Revolution as the principal parts. He finds that, in the periods of Taiping Tianguo, Yihetuan and the 1911 Revolution, large-scale peasant uprisings occurred in various areas in the country and that it was precisely the resistance struggles of the Chinese people with the peasants as the principal part which pushed China's national democratic revolution to a high tide and dealt heavy blows to enemies at home and abroad. He feels that, even in the 1898 Reform Movement, the historical drama performed by the upper class of society, "the true leading role of history was actually played by neither the Modernization Faction headed by Kang Youwei, nor the Empress Dowager or Emperor Guangxu, but the hundreds of millions of exploited and oppressed laboring people struggling for survival, mainly the peasant masses."

From beginning to end, the book analyzes the concrete historical events around the ideology of patriotism.

When discussing the religious coloring of Taiping Tianguo, the author points out that the creation of the society to worship God "was not because Christianity captured Hong Xiuquan and influenced China's revolutionary peasants, but because Hong Xiuquan, in line with the revolutionary needs of China's peasants, utilized certain rituals of Christianity... and gave a novel form to the revolution of China's peasants who were under the heavy oppression of feudalism." Though religious superstition was one of their major weaknesses, it played its role in arousing and organizing the masses. The book enumerates various historical facts to explain that the heroes of Taiping Tianguo did not relinquish their patriotic stand or slackened their fighting will just because they worshipped the same God as the foreign aggressors, and that they formed a clear contrast to the Qing government which cringed before the foreigners. They firmly refused to recognize the unequal treaties and staunchly advocated banning opium. Finally, "the realistic struggle forced the revolutionary peasants to part the dense fog of religion and wage an arduous struggle against all the allied enemies at home and abroad," thereby manifesting the true qualities of the peasant revolutionaries and the patriotic spirit of the Chinese people.

Instead of vigorously castigating the Yihetuan Movement for being contaminated with feudal backwardness and antiforeign poison, the author closely links the situations at home and abroad at that time, enthusiastically describes the magnificent struggle of Yihetuan against the aggressors, and fully affirms the historical impact of the Yihetuan Movement in blocking the division of China by the imperialists and in harbingering the growing anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles of the Chinese people. The Yihetuan Movement indicated that, in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, the broad peasants were a powerful force against not only the feudal regime, but also imperialism.

On the pursuit by the national bourgeoisie to save the country and the people, the book is to the point in its assessment. The author feels that the 1898 Modernization Movement was basically a patriotic movement. Even though the Modernizationists were hostile to the peasant revolution and only advocated reform, they hoisted the banner of saving the nation from extinction when confronted with the crisis of China being carved up by the imperialists. Their loud warnings on the critical national situation and effective propaganda on the reforms "aroused the patriotic fervor of the masses, thereby turning the political reform movement launched by them into a mass patriotic movement." The book also renders to the bourgeois revolutionary faction led by Sun Yatsen its proper historical position, highly praises Sun Yatsen and his comrades for their courageous spirit of self-sacrifice and their relatively complete democratic revolution program, specially recounts the patriotic movement of the bourgeoisie and points out that, under the conditions at that time, it embodied the common desires of the Chinese people for national independence and democratic rights and the urgent demands of China's society on the road of development." The overthrow of the Qing regime in the 1911 Revolution dealt a blow to imperialism which backed it. Though the revolution failed, it "pre-saged a new stage of the Chinese people's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary struggle and its continued development on a higher level."

While enthusiastically extolling the Chinese people's patriotic struggles, the author castigates the evildoers who sank the Chinese nation into fire and water. When we read about the tragic end of the Opium War, the heroic failure of Taiping Tianguo, the heinous crimes of the Eight-Power Allied Forces and the farce of foreigners "representing China" abroad, we feel a righteous anger against the aggressors and traitors. Without wasting much ink, the author crystallizes love and hate clearly with his pen, giving the readers a powerful impression and a profound education.

The three revolutionary high tides failed tragically and heroically, and China remained struggling in the deep semi-colonial and semi-feudal abyss. History posed a solemn question: What is the way out for China? How can it be saved? By means of a host of historical facts, "from the Opium War to the 4 May Movement" eloquently explains that the peasant revolution was unable to create a new system which could replace the old order, and nor did China's bourgeois revolution overthrow the domination of imperialism and feudalism. The conclusion of the history of the period from the Opium War to the 4 May Movement is: Only a revolution led by the proletariat can succeed; only the socialist system can save China! Thus, we further realize that a true patriot should be a supporter of the socialist system and the party's leadership.

6080

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PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF MAO'S 'ON PROTRACTED WAR' FOR ITS VALUABLE LESSONS URGED

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 8, 25 Aug 81 p 3-10

[Article by Fan Shuo [5400 4311]: "An Example of How to Use Dialectical Materialism To Direct Warfare"]

[Text] "On Protracted War" is an outstanding work on Marxist military science and philosophy. It is an example of the way Comrade Mao Zedong used a dialectical materialist and historical materialist world outlook and methodology to analyze and direct the Sino-Japanese war. The basic principles and scientific methods involved in the work, which enriches Marxism, have far-reaching implications.

Marxist theory, founded on strict scientific validity, emphasizes close observation of the internal relationships of things and the laws governing them. Anyone who abides by the law of changes in things will be able to understand not only how and in what direction things evolve at present but also how and in what direction they will evolve in the future. The validity of "On Protracted War" lies in the fact that, by analyzing the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves in the Sino-Japanese war, it brought to light the inherent law of the war, provided a scientific forecast of the course of war, guided the formulation of the correct strategy and tactics for conducting the war, and pointed out the direction for the Chinese people to win the war.

The correct conclusions and scientific forecasts which Comrade Mao Zedong covered in this work have been attested by the realities of the 8-year war against Japan. By refuting idealist and metaphysical ideologies, such as the advocacy of defeatism on the one hand and speedy victory on the other, Comrade Mao Zedong in "On Protracted War" actually rearmed the party and the Chinese people as a whole politically and ideologically and rallied the whole country to persevere in this war of resistance until the day of its final victory. Here we have a good example of the tremendous force of dialectical materialism in theory and practice and the superb skill of Comrade Mao Zedong in identifying and resolving contradictions. This piece of writing, a sparkling crystallization of truth, offers an inexhaustible treasure of excellence for us to appreciate and learn. It would be a meaningful undertaking if we were to use it as a textbook on Marxism to help us study and understand dialectical materialism as a guide for our current socialist construction and other activities.

"On Protracted War" is rich in philosophical implications. The following represents my superficial understanding of the way it analyzes contradictions,

derives the laws governing them, and provides scientific forecasts to guide the conduct of the war.

1. Analyzing and Identifying the Internal Contradictions of Both Belligerents, and Coming to Grips With Their Essential Characteristics

Materialist dialectics is a way to study the contradictions in all objective things. Only by realistically analyzing the internal contradictions in objective things can we identify them and come to grips with their essential characteristics.

Adhering to the law of the unity of opposites, Comrade Mao Zedong in "On Protracted War" analyzed and studied the internal contradictions of the Sino-Japanese war. What were the internal contradictions of the Sino-Japanese war? He pointed out: "The Sino-Japanese war is not just a war; it is a life-and-death war waged in the 1930's between a semicolonial and semifeudal China and an imperialist Japan. Herein lies the crux of the issue in question." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 415. Further references to this book will be indicated by page numbers only.) "The crux" refers to the internal causes of changes in things--i.e., their specific and basic, but not abstract and general, internal contradictions. The opposites of the contradiction were a semicolonial and semifeudal China versus an ailing imperialist Japan, which started the war to conquer China, while China was fighting to repel Japanese imperialism and make room for a new China aspiring to achieve freedom and equality. Thus, it was a national revolutionary war on one side and a war to oppose the national revolution on the other, or a war between aggression and antiaggression. It was an aggressive, unjust, and reactionary war on the part of Japan. For China, it was a people's war for justice and progress. It must be noted this war broke out in East Asia in the 1930's instead of anywhere else or at any other time. As the nature of a war depends on its time, location, and the differences in the conditions of the parties involved, the time, location, and conditions of both belligerents made this particular war unique as compared with any other war.

To bring to light the essential characteristics of the war against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong examined its basic contradictions and analyzed the crucial points of contradiction between both belligerents--namely, that the enemy was strong and we were weak, that the enemy was small and we were big, that the enemy was retrogressive and we were progressive, and that the enemy was isolated and we were backed by our allies. These basic characteristics reflected the interacting relationships of the true essence of this particular contradiction, the Sino-Japanese war, and its specific laws. These were the fountainhead from which all the laws of the Sino-Japanese war arose. They determined the direction, policy, strategy, and tactics of the enemy and ourselves, the protracted duration of the war, and its final outcome. An understanding of these essential characteristics and laws constituted a vehicle to seize the initiative to win the war.

An analysis of the contradictions of the Sino-Japanese war demonstrated that the determining factors of the war were the crucial points of contradiction between both belligerents, which, however, were related and interacting rather than separate. Why was it a protracted war? Why were we sure of final victory? The answers to these questions did not lie in the fantasies of any particular individual but were the result of a contest of the crucial points of the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. For instance, since the enemy was strong and we

were weak, Japan would dominate the situation to a given extent for a limited period of time, and China would face an arduous struggle. So the war would be protracted and indecisive. But the enemy's strength and our weakness were balanced by three other concomitant determining factors. The enemy's strength and our weakness were only relative by comparison, because [Japan's] strength was held back by her weaknesses and our weaknesses were compensated for by our strong points. As the enemy's weaknesses were amplified and our strong points were brought into play, Japan would eventually lose her dominating position and China would escape destruction and emerge victorious. This is the work of dialectics. The defeatists, who only looked at and exaggerated the enemy's strength and our weaknesses, were just as wrong and subjectively biased as the advocates of speedy victory, who only looked at the enemy's weaknesses and our strength. They failed to understand objectively all the crucial points of contradiction between both of the belligerents and their interacting relationships.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "Only by seeking truth from facts could we accomplish our specific tasks; only foresight and wisdom could save us from losing sight of where we wanted to get to." (p 488) It takes a scientific approach to seek truth from facts so as to understand the characteristics and laws of objective things and achieve political foresight. Only by analyzing objectively the internal relationship of things based on truth derived from facts can we understand their intrinsic quality and the laws governing them. The law of the war against Japan was not something that was already in existence. It had to come from a materialist dialectical analysis of the internal contradictions, the interacting relationships, and the "vehicles" of both belligerents.

Whether or not to place the focus of analysis on the internal contradictions of things reflects, in the final analysis, two entirely different world outlooks. Comrade Mao Zedong taught us: "Contrary to the metaphysical world outlook, the materialist dialectical world outlook seeks to study the development of things from their internal relationships and their interacting relationships with all other things surrounding them. That is to say, it treats the development of things as their natural internal movement, which relates to and interacts with those things that surround them. The basic causes of the development of anything lie not outside but within itself--its internal contradictions." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 276) Marx based his "Das Kapital" on his analysis of the internal contradictions of capitalist society (commodity society), starting first with the simplest form of its commodity exchange. He criticized the vulgar theoreticians who only scratch "the surface" of things and do not identify their internal relationships. That, according to Marx, has no scientific value at all, Comrade Mao wrote "On Protracted War" the way Marx wrote "Das Kapital"--by identifying the internal relationships of things. This is the first thing to learn and remember when we analyze contradictions.

2. Put the Contradictions of the War in Proper Historical Perspective and Examine Them Against the Basic Characteristics of the Times

A basic requirement of Marxist dialectics is to examine a problem in its proper historical perspective. Lenin once said that only by assessing the basic characteristics which distinguish different "eras" can we formulate our policy accurately; only by understanding clearly the essential characteristics of a particular era can we have a basis for assessing more accurately the specific

characteristics of this or that country. ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 21, pp 123-124)

When Comrade Mao Zedong analyzed the contradictions of both of the belligerents in the Sino-Japanese war, his focal point of attention was the basic characteristics of the times, which he used as a basis for refuting defeatism. He pointed out emphatically: "Our war is not just a war. It is a war between China and Japan in the 1930's." (P 419) Why is the time factor so important? It is important because all material substance exists in terms of time and space. No war can exist apart from a specific point of time. Everything revolves around time, space, and circumstances.

The characteristics of the era of the Sino-Japanese war as seen by Comrade Mao Zedong affected the two belligerents in the war differently. There would be no way to analyze the crucial points of contradiction between the belligerents if the characteristics of the era were left out.

What then were the characteristics of the 1930's? How did they affect and act on the contradictions between the belligerents of the Sino-Japanese war?

We all know that world history witnessed a fundamental change after World War I and the triumph of the Soviet October Revolution. The world in the 1930's saw the emergence of proletarian revolutions in various imperialist countries. (see "Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 10, p 204) It was an era of the approaching triumph of socialist revolutions and the spread of national liberation movements. There were two world economic crises in the 1930's. The Sino-Japanese war broke out on the eve of the collapse of the world imperialist powers, especially the fascist powers. Japanese imperialism at that time was in a period of retrogression, as her social progress had approached the brink of decline. She could no longer aspire to rival England at the height of her capitalism at the time of her conquest of India. Nor could she be as strong as she was in World War I, some 20 years before. Japan staged a frenzied war of aggression against China to rescue the decline of her imperialist system. But the war was so retrogressive and barbarous that it aroused the Chinese people to a war of resistance and courted the opposition of the people of most countries of the world. The Japanese imperialists therefore found very little support for their unjust war, which, instead of resolving their own contradictions, actually increased the load on the Japanese people, intensified class contradictions at home, brought on worsening financial crises, and finally accelerated her own destruction. The situation in China at that time was different, because [China] had ushered in a historical period of progress. It had a progressive proletariat and awakened masses of people, a proletarian vanguard in the Chinese Communist Party, and a new people's army--the Chinese Red Army led by the party. Moreover, it had a century-old revolutionary tradition of anti-imperialist struggle, especially the experience of the two revolutionary wars led by the party. These progressive factors encouraged the people of China to close ranks against Japan. It must also be pointed out that the international situation in the 1930's was in our favor. Consequently, we enjoyed worldwide support for our just cause in the war. That is why China was able to turn her weaknesses into strength in the course of the war and finally defeated Japan.

It was in such a setting that Comrade Mao Zedong turned his attention to the characteristics of the times in his analysis of the contradictions of the Sino-Japanese war in the light of the conditions in China and Japan and the international situation, arrived at a scientific conclusion, and gathered enough irrefutable facts to assail the defeatists.

At the time he published "On Protracted War," Comrade Mao Zedong also published another article entitled "On the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War" in which, on the strength of his analysis of the characteristics of the times, he expounded the strategic position of guerrilla warfare. He pointed out here that China, a big but weak country, was being attacked by a small but strong country. And yet the big but weak country had already advanced into a progressive era. This is the crux of the whole matter. This incident cannot exist independent of the fact that it occurred in the 1930's and the 1940's, nor can it exist independent of the presence of the Communist Party and the Red Army. This is the core of the matter. Comrade Mao Zedong explained even more explicitly in this article the relationship between the characteristics of this particular era and the Sino-Japanese war.

Comrade Mao Zedong told us that when we analyze contradictions of any kind, we must pay attention not only to the characteristics of the period of the contradictions we analyze but to an analysis and understanding of the characteristics of that period in relation to the historical events. The period we speak of is a great historical era with objective characteristics determined by the development of its socio-economic system and class struggle. Just as Lenin said: "Only by analyzing first the objective conditions of the transition from one era to another can we understand the extremely important historical events which are taking place before our eyes." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 123) Comrade Mao Zedong identified the essential characteristics of the 1930's through a comprehensive and historical survey of the economic, political, and cultural conditions and class struggles in various countries. He put the contradictions of the Sino-Japanese war in their proper historical perspective and examined them in the light of the outstanding characteristics of the times. By analyzing both the identical and the opposing aspects of the contradictions of both belligerents at this particular point of time, he foresaw the defeat of Japan by China. The defeatists, not recognizing the characteristics of any particular period, saw only the enemy's strength and our weakness, without realizing that the enemy was retrogressive and we were progressive and that we had worldwide support which the enemy did not have. Their conclusion that "resistance invites national annihilation" and "repetition of war leads to national annihilation" was wrong. This shows the extent to which idealism and mechanism are able to do to handle the problem of war.

3. Analyzing and Synthesizing the Contradictions of the War by Combination of Analysis and Synthesis

The spirit of Marxism stresses realistic analysis of real situations. But people often overlook synthesis when they analyze contradictions. Actually, analysis and synthesis are the unity of opposites. Analysis without synthesis is useless. Engels said: "Leaving out that polarity--i.e., synthesis--chemical analysis is meaningless." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 571, Note 1). The correct approach calls for a combination of analysis and synthesis. This is

the kind of scientific method Comrade Mao Zedong used in "On Protracted War" to analyze and resolve contradictions.

In "The Essence of Dialectics," Lenin defined the combination of analysis and synthesis as "the decomposition of all the parts and the totality or sum of these parts." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 239) What is meant by "decomposition," and how do we "decompose?" Stated simply, this means to divide everything into two. "Divide the whole into two and study the parts in contradiction." (Ibid, p 407) This is the essence of dialectics. The war against Japan represented the unity of the contradictions in both China and Japan. In analyzing the unity of opposites of the war, Comrade Mao Zedong divided each of the two sides of every contradiction in two and analyzed each in the light of the political, economic, military, cultural, and geographic conditions, the state of natural resources, the historical setting, and the international relations in order to identify the characteristics of the contradiction. The four essential characteristics of both China and Japan were then graded as primary or secondary, essential or superficial, absolute or relative, permanently or temporarily operative, and so on.

But the process of identification up to this point is still incomplete. According to the rule of dialectics, there has to be a synthesis, which covers an examination of the characteristics of the different aspects of the contradiction and the characteristics of their mutual relationship, in order to discover the objective basic relationship--i.e., the laws governing them. This is exactly the kind of analysis and synthesis that Comrade Mao Zedong applied to arrive at a scientific conclusion on the development of the Sino-Japanese war. He said: "Such being the case, Japan will face a shortage of manpower and material resources and unfavorable international reaction, in spite of her strong military and financial position and strong political organization, because she is waging a retrogressive, barbarous war. China, which has ushered in a progressive era, is fighting a progressive and just war and is big enough to sustain a protracted war even though its military might, financial resources, and political organization are comparatively weak. Most countries will no doubt help China. These are the essential characteristics of the contradictions between the two belligerents in the Sino-Japanese war." (pp 417-418) They form the basis of our understanding of the war and our overall strategy and tactics.

In his discussion of logical thinking, Lenin had a formula: "The unfolding of the totality of all the actual links (NOTE) = the essence of dialectical knowledge" In "On Protracted War," Comrade Mao Zedong unfolded the totality of all the actual links and factors affecting the Sino-Japanese war. To get to the basics and the law of the war, he analyzed the crucial points of the contradictions of both belligerents and sorted out step by step and bit by bit the mutual relationships and interactions of all these factors. By following through the combination of analysis and synthesis, he added depth to the process of understanding.

Neither analysis nor synthesis, which deal with objective realities, is just a conceptual framework. The combination of the two serves as a vehicle for seeking truth from facts, i.e., analyzing all the "facts" that exist objectively and

seeking the "truth" of their internal relationships and the laws governing them. In discussing the method of seeking truth from facts, Comrade Chen Yun once proposed a simple formula: "Make all-round examinations over and over again." He elaborated on this later, at a Central Committee work session in 1978. He cited "On Protracted War" to illustrate how Comrade Mao Zedong had made an "all-round comparative examination" of the conditions in China and Japan and had concluded in favor of a protracted war, rejecting the theory of [either] speedy victory or defeatism. This tells us that to learn well the process of analysis and synthesis, we must be able to observe the overall situation, make exhaustive comparisons, and consider everything over and over again. Comrade Chen Yun's formula represents a realistic scientific approach to dialectical knowledge, a simple and accurate rule of thumb for the pursuit of analysis and synthesis.

The combination of analysis and synthesis, which are inseparable, is the progression of dialectical unity of thinking. Analysis involves synthesis, and synthesis involves analysis. This is illustrated by Hegel's exposition as quoted by Lenin in "The Essence of Hegel's 'Logic'": "The philosophical method is both synthetical and analytical. This does not mean it incorporates a restricted concept of these two methods or their simple alterations. In reality, the two are unwittingly absorbed into the philosophical method which by nature works analytically and synthetically. Analytical philosophical thinking affects only its perceived concept, which is allowed to function freely in its movements and development. Consequently, philosophical reasoning is entirely passive, but it also works synthetically as the movement of the concept itself...." Lenin marked this passage "very good" and "excellent." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 257) This is the method applied in "On Protracted War," and we should study it carefully in order to understand the dialectical method of combining analysis and synthesis.

4. Master Quantitative and Qualitative Dialectics by Observing the Movements of the Contradictions in the Entire Course of the War

According to Engels: "Any movement is a contradiction." "The emergence and solution of a contradiction constitute a movement." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 160) Thus, the movements of contradictions exist in the course of the development of all things. When we analyze a contradiction, we must keep track of its movements and study the law of its development and changes. By treating the Sino-Japanese war as a large movement of contradictions, Comrade Mao Zedong in "On Protracted War" was able to direct his attention to its characteristics and development and to study the essential features at each stage of its entire course of development. This helped him to foresee correctly the actual progress of the war and to make use of its observable manifestations so as to guide the conduct of the war and adjust military strategy and tactics accordingly.

In materialist dialectics, the course of the development of the movements of a contradiction involving struggles and transformations of its internal opposites represents a process of alternation from quantitative changes to qualitative changes and vice versa. Consequently, the entire course of its development falls into different stages. This was true of the Sino-Japanese war. Many crucial matters affecting the contradictions between the belligerents stood for certain quantities and qualities, and the war was a contest between these crucial matters.

The strength of both belligerents changed continually in quantity and quality during the war, whose outcome depended entirely on the changes in the relative strengths of the enemy and ourselves. Having examined in "On Protracted War" the quantitative and qualitative changes in the crucial factors of the contradictions of the Sino-Japanese war, Comrade Mao Zedong detected a general trend in the changes of the relative strength of the enemy and ourselves as follows: that China would move from an inferior position to a position of parity and then to a superior position, while Japan would move from a superior position to a position of parity and then to an inferior position; that China would move from defense to stalemate and then to counterattack, while Japan would move from attack to defense and then to retreat. Thus, the war against Japan would fall into three stages--namely, strategic defense, strategic stalemate, and strategic counter-attack. That is the law that governed the course of the war.

Comrade Mao Zedong told us: "The basic contradictions in the development of things and the essential nature of the course of the development defined by such basic contradictions will remain unchanged until the completion of the whole process. But the different stages of the course of the development are usually distinguishable." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 289) So the basic nature of the war against Japan from its beginning to its final victory was not going to change, even though there were bound to be quantitative changes in all three stages. Certain qualitative changes would bring about marked changes in conditions.

In spite of the enemy's superior position and our inferior position during the first stage, the relative strength of the enemy and ourselves would each undergo two changes. The first change in the war of resistance on our side would include the depletion of territory, population, economic resources, and military strength. These were unfavorable quantitative and qualitative factors. Our second series of changes would be partial qualitative changes, including the experience gained during the fighting, military and political improvement, popular mobilization, a new cultural orientation, the emergence of guerrilla warfare, and more international assistance. These were favorable factors representing new quantities and qualities--mainly changes in quality. These factors, no matter how insignificant, were new forces, a source of hope to sustain our morale until final victory. The defeatists had lost confidence because they were not aware of this. Japan also was to go through both favorable and unfavorable changes in the first stage. Her unfavorable factors would include mounting casualties, depletion of weapons and ammunition, deterioration of troop morale, popular disillusion at home, loss of trade, and unfavorable world opinion. This would lead to qualitative changes as such unfavorable factors built up quantitatively. Her favorable changes would include increase in territory, population, and material resources. These, however, would be localized and temporary and not be likely to grow indefinitely either in quantity or quality, because the enemy was an ailing imperialist power whose occupation of Chinese territory was temporary and unlikely to extend in the face of rapidly growing Chinese guerilla forces. That is why Japan would not be able to annihilate China. In a word, the favorable and unfavorable factors of both the enemy and ourselves at this stage were mutually counterbalanced, and there was not likely to be any basic change in the relative strength of either. As our position was still weak, we could only adopt a qualitatively permissible strategy of defense.

The crucial points of the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves would undergo additional changes during the second stage. Generally speaking, the unfavorable factors affecting Japan and the favorable factors of China would expand, while the favorable factors of Japan and the unfavorable factors affecting China would dwindle. However, since these factors were still counter-balanced, these changes would be mostly quantitative, though there might be some rather slow qualitative changes. The position of Japan would begin to deteriorate and China's position would improve in general. After prolonged stalemate, struggles, and contests, the relative strength of the enemy and ourselves would approach a parity trending toward a reversal of positions. This stage of stalemate was the transition or turning point of the war. In spite of certain apparent changes, the enemy's position was still stronger than ours and there was no likelihood of any basic qualitative changes in the overall war situation. Consequently, we were not yet in a position to launch a counterattack. Those craving for quick victory who do not know that a war is a contest of strength nor understand the dialectical alternations of quality and quantity are prone to take quantitative changes as qualitative changes and ask for "strategic counterattack" and "strategic decisive engagements." This is against the objective law of war.

After going through arduous struggles and preparations in the second stage, our position in the third stage would improve steadily and the trend would be toward victory, as our favorable factors, such as the buildup of military strength (the most vital factor) and international assistance, continually multiplied. The enemy, beset by difficulties, would face mounting unfavorable factors leading to defeat. Basic qualitative changes would occur in the strength and the quality of the relative positions of the enemy and ourselves, and this trend would continue until the day of our victory. We must note that the development of the contradictions at this stage still fluctuated unpredictably. For instance, our strategic counterattack and liberation of enemy-occupied territory ran into pockets of ups and downs in certain localities. These are partial qualitative changes in the entire course of quantitative changes.

The three stages of the Sino-Japanese war were a process by which the crucial factors of contradictions between both belligerents underwent alternating quantitative and qualitative changes affecting the relative positions of the enemy and ourselves and our choice of defensive or offensive strategies. Although the basic nature of the contradictions and the process of development did not change, there may have been signs of intensification at the different stages of development. Many points of contradiction falling within the framework of the basic contradictions, certain crucial points or factors, might intensify, quiet down, or become resolved temporarily or partially. New contradictions might still emerge. On the whole, as far as China was concerned, the favorable factors (new quantities and qualities) would extend continually, while unfavorable factors (old quantities and qualities) would disappear one after another. The contrary was true of Japan. Viewed in the light of either the internal contradictions in China and Japan or the totality of the contradictions of both, partial qualitative changes, or "the qualitative changes of things due to quantitative changes," often occurred throughout the course of the quantitative changes. By the same token, quantitative extensions also occurred in partial qualitative changes or "the quantitative changes of things due to qualitative changes." "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 166) Finally, partial qualitative changes would

bring about basic qualitative changes until the whole process ended with China's victory over Japan.

It must be noted that the three stages are distinct and yet mutually related. If we had been unable to check the advance of the enemy during the first stage, we would not have had a stage of stalemate. The stage of counterattack would not have materialized if we had not had a stage of stalemate in which to make all the necessary preparations. While a preceding stage prepared for a succeeding stage, the latter was the end result of the former. This completed the process we initiated to capitalize on the changes of the internal contradictions of the Sino-Japanese war.

At the time Comrade Mao Zedong discussed these three stages, he called them "the major clues to the trend of the war." He pointed out then: "The course of the objective realities will be extremely colorful and volatile. Even though nobody can come up with a "schedule" of the Sino-Japanese war, a projected framework of the trend of the war is nevertheless a valuable guide of strategic importance." (p 430) As attested by the facts, the war actually proceeded along the lines foreseen by Comrade Mao Zedong. The policy to guide the war and the strategy and tactics for combat operations at each stage which he mapped out proved correct. At that time, however, there were people who questioned the validity of scientific forecasts of the course of the war and the durability of war planning or programming. To counter their claims, Comrade Mao Zedong assailed both the mechanistic and the relativistic theories. He asked us to distinguish "the flow of numbers" from "the flow of quality," and pointed out emphatically, "Relative permanence does take root at each specific stage of the volatile course of the entire war." (p 464) This refers to qualitative stability. A quality is expressed in terms of a given quantity, but quantitative fluctuations within a certain limit do not lead necessarily to qualitative changes, thus allowing things to remain relatively stable and permanent. This served as an objective basis for our war planning and programming.

In summary, Comrade Mao Zedong's application of dialectical materialism to the analysis and solution of contradictions runs through "On Protracted War" like a red-thread binder. He applied the universal principle of materialist dialectics to direct the war and provided the most profound exposition of many philosophical questions affecting the Sino-Japanese war, such as how to achieve unity of subjectivity and objectivity, how to bring conscientious initiative into play, how to turn passivism into activism, how to handle the relationship between people and weapons, and how to understand the dialectical relationships in the realm of military strategy and tactics. All these are now ours to appreciate and study.

We study the past to understand the present and foresee the future. The reason why we want to go over "On Protracted War" again is because we want to follow the brilliant example set by Comrade Mao Zedong in welding together both theory and practice so that we may be able to use dialectical materialism and historical materialism to examine the contradictions of Chinese socialist society and find out its inherent laws. To do so, we must proceed to analyze realistically the conditions in our country and the contradictions of our socialist society, such as the contradictions between the productive forces and production relations and those between the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production; to identify the essential characteristics

of the contradictions; to understand the objective laws of socialist construction; and to work out correct lines and policies accordingly. The leftist errors we have made in our past economic work are obviously the result of undue emphasis on the role of production relations and irresponsible changes introduced to production relations without considering the conditions and contradictions in our country, which is big and populous but ill prepared, backward in science and technology, and weak in productive forces. Our failure to abide by the laws of coordination of production relations and productive forces has strained our economic construction extensively. The root of the matter is that subjective and metaphysical thinking has torn asunder the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity on the one hand and between knowledge and practice on the other.

Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party has been rectifying and correcting the leftist erroneous imprints on our economic work and has formulated a program of "readjustment, reform, reorganization, and improvement" based on better understanding of the current conditions in China and the economic line of socialist construction adapted to the conditions in our country, so as to lead the people to work step by step toward the realization of the four modernizations. The correct line, programs, and policies of the party, founded entirely on realistic and truthful analysis of the conditions and contradictions in China, are good examples of the way to apply Mao Zedong Thought to sum up what has transpired, to identify the contradictions, and to seek out the laws to guide our practical actions. The 60-year history of our party proves that Mao Zedong Thought is a correct guiding ideology and a valuable intellectual asset of the party. We must do our best to study Comrade Mao Zedong's works, especially his works on philosophy, and to master Mao Zedong Thought and apply its positions, viewpoints and methodology to the analysis and solution of the contradictions in our actual work and our society at large so that we may proceed strictly along the scientific road mapped out by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

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PARTY AND STATE

CRITERION FOR PROPER CRITICISM ANALYZED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 81 p 1

[Article by Qing Ming [3237 2494]: "Analyze a 'Typical Argument'"]

[Text] When the party organization, newspapers, or comrades put forth criticism against certain people who have engaged in unhealthy tendencies or committed this or that mistake, some of those criticized often do not give in, because they consider their problems to be "atypical." Some people even sympathize with those who are criticized, on the grounds that their mistakes are not major or that similar problems are very common--that is, so-called "atypical."

This is a rather typical argument in defense of mistakes, and it deserves to be discussed.

"Some people have problems that are greater and more typical than mine. Why not criticize them instead of coming down hard on me?" There is no doubt that we must grasp typical cases in the launching of criticism, but to judge whether someone's mistake is typical depends on its nature, circumstances, consequences, effect, and the attitude toward the mistake in order to carry out an overall evaluation. It does not mean that a mistake is not typical just because one thinks that the mistake is not great or "atypical." This is clearly inadequate reasoning for rejecting criticism. There are all kinds of typical cases. Mistakes which concern the fate of the state and people, like the incident of the sinking of the Bo Er, are surely typical cases. Although some mistakes are a common phenomenon, the masses have much to talk about precisely because they are very common, such as matters involving poor service, which have the sense of being typical. Some people are clearly in the wrong, but they try to cover up in every possible way, refuse to admit their guilt, and even turn things around to lay reasonable blame on those who criticize them. Naturally, this can be regarded as a typical case. Some problems that occurred during the 10 years of chaos perhaps need no mentioning. But today, when party discipline and national law have recovered their dignity, they cannot be tolerated. If we could only criticize the most outstanding problems, would we not be doing away with criticism? As the saying goes: Man proceeds toward higher ground, and water naturally flows downhill. To make progress, one must compare with the higher ground and with the advanced. By comparing one's mistakes with another's, and feeling wronged because one's mistakes are "atypical" and criticized, one may sink deeper and deeper in the mire of mistakes.

"Some leaders also have problems. To grasp typical cases, the problems should be grasped. Why grasp mine?" This is a blatant argument in defense of one's mistakes. It is reasonable for the masses to make even more severe demands on leaders. Take "eating special meals" as an example, and compare the leaders of the commerce departments and kitchen cooks. Their circumstances are highly different. Even though these leaders do not each as much and as often, perhaps the effects are greater and therefore more typical. In launching criticism and self-criticism, leaders at all levels--especially those at the higher levels--should have a greater self-consciousness and should set an example for the lower levels and the broad masses of cadres and people. This is relevant to the point. Our party has always promoted in an open and aboveboard manner the supervision of leaders at all levels of the party and government by the masses, and criticized in the newspapers the mistakes of leading comrades of the central party and administrative organs. The "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is a magnificent model of the launching of criticism and self-criticism. Are these facts not clear to all? It is true that existing problems among a minority of leading cadres in some places, departments, and units are still unresolved. But this does not legitimize their mistakes or mean that they are not subject to party discipline and state law. We certainly cannot permit some places not to criticize the mistakes of leaders at a higher level but only those of cadres at a lower level. Conversely, we cannot use the mistakes of leaders at a higher level to cover up the mistakes of cadres at a lower level and refuse to criticize one's own mistakes.

Criticism is caring and helping other comrades. Some people make serious mistakes, but after receiving criticism and help from others, they suddenly wake up and thoroughly rectify their errors, thereby following and moving onward with the revolutionary contingents. Some people also start out making common mistakes, but they refuse criticism and help from others, ultimately causing an intensification of contradictions, a change in character, and reaching a stage that is beyond cure. In this sense, our launching of criticism is the work of curing diseases and washing the face. Everyone has to wash his face and must do so every day. One cannot wash his face only when he is unkempt and dirty. Diseases must be treated promptly. One cannot wait until a disease has attacked the vital organs before seeing a doctor. The story about Cao Cao's [2580 2347] treatment of his mental disorder in "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms" calls for deep thought. Cao Cao's brain had a disease and Hua Tuo [5478 7094] wanted to operate on it and to cure it once and for all. But thinking that Hua harbored evil intentions, he had the famous physician of the time killed. Consequently his own disease was prolonged and he could not escape death. If one considers one's mistakes "atypical" and therefore hides one's sickness for fear of treatment, is this not also very dangerous.

Lenin once said: "If one persists in one's mistakes, takes further steps to defend them, and 'persists to the end,' minor mistakes can often turn into shocking ones." Then the theory that atypical cases cannot be criticized is truly a strong counter-argument. Of course, this does not mean that the launching of criticism can be simplified. We should both master the correct principles and pay attention to methods. The criticism of comrades who make mistakes should be fair and reasonable, practical and realistic, in keeping with a sense of propriety, and aimed at helping those who are being criticized, so that they will become sincerely convinced, understand their mistakes, and correct them self-consciously.

PARTY AND STATE

COLLECTING INFORMATION FOR PARTY HISTORY STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 27 Oct 81 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Give Close Attention to the Work on Collecting Information for Party History"]

[Text] Collecting information for party history is an extremely important and urgent task. In the past 60 years, for the liberation of the nation and the happiness of the people, the Chinese Communist Party, fearing no sacrifice and struggling courageously, followed an incomparably difficult and tortuous, yet glorious and majestic, course. On the foundation of an extensive collection of data on its history, conscientiously summarizing its abundant positive and negative struggle experiences to write its history is a major undertaking in our endeavor to bring order out of chaos and carry forward the past to forge ahead. It has an extremely important significance in our effort to restore and develop the party's superior tradition, rectify its style, educate our future generations, implement the party's lines and policies, promote the work in all aspects and advance the cause of the "four modernization" construction.

Jiangsu was one of the earliest areas in the nation in party building. The party's strength flourished during the great revolution. After Jiang Jieshi's "12 April" counterrevolutionary political coup, Jiangsu became the center of the reactionary Guomindang regime. The party led the people in many armed uprisings and waged a desperate struggle against the powerful enemy. During the war to resist Japan, the headquarters of the Japanese imperialist Central China expeditionary forces and Wang's puppet central government were established in Nanjing. The New Fourth Army led by our party marched east and advanced north and the Eighth Route Army proceeded south, waging a protracted bloody war against the Japanese and puppet armies. The two shores of Changjiang in our province became an important part of the base to resist Japan behind the enemy lines in Central China. Jiang Jieshi launched a civil war after the victory of the resistance war. The people of Jiangsu, under the party's leadership, waged an indomitable struggle in the enemy's heartland, and Jiangsu became an important outpost in the liberation of China. In its socialist revolution and construction in the 32 years since the founding of the nation, same as all areas in the country, its achievements were primary, but there were also mistakes and setbacks, thereby tempering our party and our

people. In the past, we seldom systematically and conscientiously studied the party's history in Jiangsu and did not give sufficient attention to the work of collecting the historical data. Now we must rouse ourselves to catch up, expend a great effort and, in accordance with the Party Central Committee's unified arrangements, widely collect the historical material of this area of the various periods, in order to provide all kinds of historical documents and data for writing the party history of the whole country and lay a firm foundation for studying and compiling the revolutionary struggle history led by the party in our province.

Reinforcing leadership by the party committees of the various levels is the key to the proper performance of the work of collecting data on party history. The responsible comrades of the party committees must improve their understanding of the importance, necessity and urgency of the work and place it on the daily agenda. While launching the entire party to unify understanding and solve the "theoretical" issue, we must handle the "concrete" problems in the collection, arrangement and study of data for party history. At present, we must primarily create permanent structures to collect data and make concrete arrangements in the assignment of special-duty cadres, the allocation of funds and the supply of files and documents, in order to launch the work promptly.

To perform the collection work properly, we must fully activate the masses and mobilize the social strengths of all sides. We must ask the old party members and old cadres who participated in the revolutionary struggles in the early days to donate the documentary data preserved by them and organize them to write memoirs on their personal experiences and what they saw and heard, including issues, incidents and figures of a certain historical value. It is a glorious task which all the old comrades are duty-bound to perform. We hope that each and every old comrade, in his late years, will participate in writing his memoirs. In addition, many revolutionary publications and many letters, diaries and manuscripts of the revolutionaries are scattered among the people. We must activate them to collect them extensively and produce them. We must also mobilize the party schools of all levels, the higher schools, the party history research structures and work contingents and organize them to undertake the work.

We must follow the principle of seeking the truth from the facts in the collection of material and the study of party history. Comrade Zhou Enlai once said that, only by being faithful to the facts, will we be faithful to truth. Comrade Chen Yun also pointed out that, to write party history, we must first collect the material and make sure of its accuracy. There must not be the slightest bit of falsity in the material. "Preserving the genuine," "being realistic," upholding the truth, respecting the facts, grasping the pen and writing frankly, we must record the true conditions in the history of the party and hold ourselves responsible to history.

Collecting data to compile the history of the party was the last wishes of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De, the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. The project was delayed by the 10-year civil unrest. After the downfall of the "gang of four," we again procrastinated for 2 years

and failed to tackle the matter. It is a task which brooks no delay. Currently, we are faced with an unprecedented excellent political situation. The Party Central Committee has made clear provisions on the task, policies and work arrangements on the collection work; our provincial party committee has decided to call a meeting for the purpose of studying and making concrete arrangements; the structures for collection work in the various areas have mostly been set up, the party committees of the various levels have begun to give the task their serious attention, and the broad old cadres are very enthusiastic. We believe that, after the meeting this time, all areas will further implement the spirit of the national and provincial meetings on the work to collect material for the party's history and adopt concrete measures, in order to make achievements in the collection work and properly contribute to the compilation of party history.

6080

CSO: 4005/271

PARTY AND STATE

MINORITIES ASSIGNED KEY POSITIONS IN HAINAN

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 81 p 1

[Article by Zeng Qingsong [2587 1987 2646] and Sun Wenhui [1327 2429 5706]:
"A Group of Cadres of the Li and Miao Peoples Take on Primary Leadership
Responsibilities in the Counties and Communes of an Autonomous Prefecture"]

[Text] The autonomous prefecture of the Li and Miao peoples on Hainan recently promoted a group of minority cadres to primary leadership positions at the county and commune levels. With the exception of 1 of the 8 counties in the prefecture which has yet to hold elections, 7 counties have already held elections for county committee posts and of the 30 secretary and deputy secretary positions filled, half went to minority cadres. Originally minorities occupied only two positions. Of the seven county magistrate posts, five sent to minority cadres, while six of the seven positions of director of the standing committee of the county people's congress went to minority cadres. In the 84 minority communes throughout the prefecture the number of minority cadres holding the post of secretary increased from 26 to 71.

Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the prefectural party committee and each of the county committees have adopted the following measures to strengthen the training and promotion of minority cadres: 1. Foster the core function of longtime minority cadres. Most of the longtime cadres of Hainan who are members of the Li and Miao races are older cadres and older guerrillas of the Qiongyazong unit. Last year, in the elections in each county, the prefectural party committee intentionally allowed a group of minority cadres who were sound of body, had work experience and enjoyed the respect of the masses to participate. In Guangdong County, Rong Yazhu of the Li people and Ma Yada of the Miao people had both been deputy county magistrates in the 1950's and were pulled from power during political movements. This time in the county government elections Rong Yazhu and Ma Yada were respectively elected to the posts of county magistrate and deputy director of the standing committee of the county people's congress, and both received the support of all the people in the county. 2. When boldly promoting young and middle-aged minority cadres, focus on conditions such as their low cultural levels and their lack of specialized knowledge and send different groups of them at different times to the central and south-central minority academies, the provincial and prefectural party schools and trade schools to study culture, theory and knowledge of various trades. In the last 2 years, the 80 counties of the entire province have sent 272 leading

minority cadres of every level from the commune to various schools to pursue advanced study. 3. County committees should specifically direct older cadres to "teach, help, and lead" those young and middleaged minority cadres of Liangzhong County, originally a committee secretary of the county presidium, upon inspection by the county party committee was found to have promise and was allowed to go to Taiping Commune for training prior to the elections. The party committee primarily led and helped him to gain confidence in his work, to advance his work methods, to summarize his work experiences and continually to raise the level of his leadership work, and this resulted in his rapid development. At the time of the commune elections he was elected party committee secretary. Later, he was elected to the standing committee of the county party committee and as deputy county magistrate. 4. Continually increase the pool of minority cadre troops. When the prefectural party committee is calling for new cadres, workers and students, they should appropriately relax requirements to increase the proportion on minority cadres, workers and students accepted into the party.

Because minority cadres are familiar with the language and folk customs of their peoples, they can maintain intimate contacts with the minority masses and, because of this, after this group of minority cadres has set out on the road leading to positions of leadership, they will have a positive effect on our work.

9705

CSO: 4005/281

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MODERN AIR FORCE EXERCISE DESCRIBED

Beijing HANGKONG ZHISHI [AEROSPACE KNOWLEDGE MAGAZINE] in Chinese No 11, Nov 81 p 4-5

[Article by Li Ciying [2621 2945 5235], Wang Lisheng [3769 4539 3932] and Sun Maoqing [1327 5399 1987]]

[Text] It was a bright sunny day, without a single cloud in the sky.

Inside a certain command center of the Air Force, everyone was working intensely and orderly. The commanding officers of the interceptor, attacker, bomber, transport, helicopter, missile and anti-aircraft, and radar units were planning a joint operation. Along the wall were various kinds of maps and displays showing the current status in the sky.

On the airfield, all types of airplanes were lined up ready for takeoff; on the surface-to-air missile bases, all missiles were pointed towards the clouds; and the radar and surveillance systems were monitoring the sky closely. All personnel were on standby.

Bang! Bang! Several signal lights rose from each airfield. Instantly, the quiet airfield came to life. One by one the airmen stepped into their cockpits and brought the planes in the air, rushing toward the pre-designated exercise region to carry out their individual missions.

A modern military exercise was about to begin!

Reconnaissance airplanes began their visual and photographic surveillance; electronic jamming devices aimed at the "enemy" forces began operation.

At high altitude, our fighter airplanes were trying to gain control of the air space in order to provide tactical support to the tank forces. At mid altitude, our bomber squad was conducting large-scale bombings of "enemy" bases. At low altitude, our attack planes initiated intense raids on "enemy" tanks and infantry. Our bombers and helicopters also distributed mines from the air to deter "enemy" attack. Our paratroopers landed behind "enemy" lines to cut off "enemy" retreat and support routes.

On the ground, under Air Force coverage, our tank forces broke through "enemy" lines, and thrust forward. Our battery units and rocket units launched round after round of shells toward "enemy" bases. Our Army units delivered a fatal blow to the "enemy"....

On the exercise field, the smoke and sound of artillery filled the air. It was a grave and impressive sight. The spectators, which include experienced generals and young soldiers, party leaders, laborers, teachers, and scientists were all deeply moved and excited by such a scene. They said: "It is amazing that our military forces have made so much progress within the last few years. Witnessing this exercise made us feel more confident about achieving the final victory over imperialist invasion!" This feeling was particularly echoed by the old soldiers and the working class who had suffered a great deal from the imperialists and reactionaries. They firmly believed that the people now had become the master of China's air space; the time when imperialists and reactionaries controlled the air space was gone forever!

From the distant sky roars of airplanes penetrated through the air; wave after wave of interceptors, bombers, and attackers were approaching in orderly flight formations. When the P.A. system announced that each formation was led by a division commander, the crowd responded with enthusiastic applause.

Look, here comes the paratrooper unit marching this way. At the head of the unit was deputy Army commander and acting division commander Li Lianhui. When he was introduced over the P.A. system, the audience again responded with applause.

On the exercise field, our airmen were displaying the fearless combat tactics and their precision targeting skills with rockets and guns, leaving the spectators with an unforgettable impression. Look, suddenly a pair of airplanes dove from the clouds, like hawks diving for their prey; the flashes beneath the wings preceded a round of rocket fire, which were right on target. Immediately following the leaders, pair after pair of airplanes took turns diving for their targets, showering the area with rockets and gun shells. The target region was now covered with flame and smoke; the attackers swiftly flew over the smoke and climbed back into the clouds. "What precision!" The sound of praise could be heard from the review stand. The leader of this group of attack planes was "Blue Sky Commander" of the regiment, Jiang Yungzeng.

Then, a bomber squad was approaching from the distant sky. It was flying in combat formation, penetrating the "enemy" air defense net and arriving at the target region. Wave after wave of bombs were released from the bomb-bays and directed toward the targets. Instantly the earth began to tremble; and the thunder of explosives could be heard at the review stand. The "enemy" base was covered with fire, and black smoke rose into the sky. "Incredible bombing!" people shouted with excitement. This bombing squad had a glorious performance record.

As soon as the raids were over, a large number of airplanes carrying paratroopers reached the exercise field. A few seconds later, one parachute after another began to open, and gradually descend toward the rear of the "enemy" base. The young paratroopers were fully modernized; they were unafraid of danger or hardship. They flew over mountains, forests, deserts, rivers and lakes. No matter how difficult or dangerous the mission, paratroopers always performed courageously. They were capable of descending from the sky and engaging in combat under any terrain conditions.

This exercise was an overall test and review of the achievements of constructive efforts by the Air Force in recent years. The scope of the exercise is unprecedented in terms of the large number of airplanes, and the large number of sorties carrying

out their missions over the same region. Furthermore, the exercise required close cooperation with the Army. All airplanes performed their missions with good timing, accuracy, and safety. The success of this exercise demonstrated the fact that in the process of marching toward modernization, today's Air Force has developed into a strong air power capable of protecting China's air space. New progress has been made in modernizing China's Air Force. Its tactical skills have now surpassed the highest level in the Air Force's history.

Let them fly, the eagles of China!

3012

CSO: 4005/263

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ARMY, NAVY, AIR FORCE UNITS PARTICIPATE IN GRAND REVIEW

Beijing HANGKONG ZHISHI [AEROSPACE KNOWLEDGE MAGAZINE] in Chinese No 11, Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Du Yuqing [2629 5940 7230] and Zhuang Congsheng [5445 5115 3932]]

[Text] The time was 19 September 1981. The place was a certain airport in northern China. The sky was clear and the sun was bright.

There were 53 units of Army, Navy, and Air Force personnel participating in the grand review. The Air Force had two infantry units, two anti-aircraft gun units, three surface-to-air missile units, and six precision flying and exhibition teams taking part in this review and special air show. They came here as representatives of the entire Air Force to pay respect to the Party Central Committee, the State Council, Central Military Commission and the Chinese people of all nationalities.

This grand review was unprecedented in terms of the range of airplanes, number of personnel, and size of the organization.

At 9:00 sharp, the review got underway.

The chairman of the central military commission Deng Xiaoping, accompanied by the commanding officer of the Beijing Command Qin Jiwei, reviewed the troops in a convertible automobile. At each unit, Chairman Deng chatted with the comrades, and gave a brief speech from his automobile.

Then, Comrade Deng ascended the review stand and began reviewing all three services jointly with other party leaders including Chairman Hu Yaobang, Vice Chairman Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, and Hua Guofeng.

After 15 minutes, the units began to form a procession. At the head of the procession was the Liberation Army band, playing the "Liberation March".

Right behind the Navy units, a group of flyboys wearing white helmets, leather jackets and pistols marched by the review stand. It was a unit consisting of 282 Air Force cadets (see color pictures on inside cover). They were all high school graduates who joined the Air Force last year; they range in age from 17 to 19. From their tanned and rosy faces, one can sense the energy of these youths; their uniform and determined steps demonstrated the spirit of modern pilots and the character of good soldiers.

Lark! Here comes the paratroopers marching down in unison. The shiny bayonets and the brand new uniforms (see color pictures on inside back cover) make them look particularly impressive.

Following the paratroopers were two anti-aircraft gun units marching along with the rumbling trucks, and three surface-to-air missile units approaching at a speed of 100 meters per 36 seconds (see pictorial inserts).

As the tank units were passing the review stand, a distant roaring sound broke through the air. This was the sound generated by a flight formation consisting of interceptors (see color pictures on inside cover), bombers, and attackers (see insert page 4).

"Swish--", a deafening loud noise accompanied a group of attacker planes passing overhead with lightening speed. The group leader was 39-year-old division commander Wu Huaxuan. In order to dramatize to 175 meters the lowest altitude ever flown in the grand review. Immediately behind the attacker unit, five mechanized arrow units from a certain division flew swiftly by the review stand.

Then, nine interceptors colored in red took off from this airfield and put on a breath-taking air show. They were part of the exhibition team of this division.

This brought an end to the grand review. The exciting show put on by the airborne soldiers received unanimous praise from government officials and other visitors.

3012

CSO: 4005/263

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CCP MILITARY COMMISSION DECREE HONORS HEROIC ACT

OW190241 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0227 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--The military commission of the CCP Central Committee recently issued a decree on conferring an honorary title of "model of cherishing the people" to Jian Demen, a cadre of the people's armed forces, who bravely saved people from danger.

Jian Demen, a cadre of Mongolian nationality, is chief of the equipment section of Ewenkizu autonomous banner's people's armed forces department in Nei Monggol. He was en route home to visit his family on 17 February when a fire, caused by a short circuit, broke out on the bus on which he was riding. The bus was soon filled with thick smoke and raging flames. At this critical moment, he acted bravely, selflessly and fearlessly. He succeeded in forcing open the bus door, broke the windowpanes and directed the passengers to leave the bus immediately. Enduring acute pain caused by burns, he rushed into the bus enveloped in raging flames three times and saved four passengers who had passed out. At the critical moment when the bus was on the verge of exploding, he acted calmly yet resolutely, directed the passengers to leave the site in time and thus saved all the 44 passengers from danger. Jian Demen's revolutionary spirit and noble character of saving the people at the risk of his own life is warmly praised by the local government and the masses of the people.

The decree issued by the CCPCC's military commission calls on the commanders and fighters of the whole army to learn from Jian Demen, to take him as a model, to cherish ardent love for the party as well as for the cause of socialism, to carry out every task in a down-to-earth way and to serve the people wholeheartedly without regard for personal safety. It also calls for strengthening both political and military training; fostering a good work style; further consolidating the relations between the army and the government as well as between the army and the people; promoting activities to build socialist spiritual civilization and striving to build our army into a modernized and standardized revolutionary one.

CSO: 4005/364

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ANHUI PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS SAFEGUARD SCHOOLS

OW151433 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] According to a report by (Shen Youxin), public security organs in Hefei Municipality have achieved good results in helping schools maintain their normal order.

Some time ago, several schools in Hefei were harassed and affected by the very small number of hoodlums in society, and the personal safety of the teachers and students was under serious threat. To maintain normal order in the schools and to safeguard public security in society, the Municipal Public Security Bureau sent its cadres and policemen to a dozen schools in Hefei. The cadres and policemen conducted an investigation into the state of public security in these schools, helped the school authorities consolidate and improve their security organizations and carried out education in the socialist legal system and spiritual civilization among the broad masses of teachers and students. Various tools used for criminal purposes were found, and offenders and criminals who had intruded into the schools to jeopardize public security were punished according to law.

(Shen Jiabao), (Qian Changsong) and other members of the (Xinghuacun) Commune in the suburbs, intruded on separate occasions into the No 36 Hefei middle school and the dormitory of Anhui Engineering College and stole three tape recorders, a record player and some other items. The people's security police office on (Bozhou) Road promptly solved the theft cases and recovered the lost items. (He Zhangmin) and some other students of the No 3 Hefei middle school repeatedly colluded with hoodlums and hooligans in society to scuffle on campus and to stop students on their way to school and search their pockets. Because of this, the students could not attend class. After investigating the above cases and ascertaining the crimes involved, the Hefei Municipal Public Security Bureau subjected (Shen Jiabao) to 3-years of reeducation through labor and gave due public security punishment to (He Zhangmin) and the others according to law.

Recently, the Hefei Municipal Public Security Bureau and the Hefei Municipal Education Bureau cosponsored a meeting of principals of middle schools in the municipality to make further arrangements for improving public security in their schools.

Because of the coordinated efforts of all concerned in society and the various measures taken to solve the problem, there has been a remarkable improvement in public order in the schools.

CSO: 4005/364

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

NEW FIGHTERS' PLEDGES--According to a report by JIEFANGJUN BAO, some 500 new fighters of a certain unit of the Guangxi border defense units wrote requests of pledges one after another asking for assignments to the Faka Mountain for training under gunfire so as to dedicate their youth to the defense of the border region of the motherland. (Hu Guoliang), a new fighter, pledged: I have been brought up under the brilliant guidance of the party since my childhood and it is the party that has given me a happy life. I will never let the motherland lose even 1 inch of its land even if I have to sacrifice my own life. Another new fighter (Li Changfu) wrote: Our happiness has been brought about at the expense of many martyrs. Now that we have received guns from these heroes, we must act like them, fearing neither hardship nor death, stick to our posts like nails and resolutely defend the Faka Mountain so that the people of our motherland can live with ease. [Text] [OW200833 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 17 Dec 81]

CSO: 4005/364

LITERATURE MUST COMBINE TRUTH, IDEOLOGICAL CORRECTNESS

Beijing WENXUEPINGLUN /COMMENTS ON LITERATURE/ in Chinese No 4, 15 Jul 81
pp 34-43

[Article by Peng Lixun [1756 4539 0534]: "On Truthfulness and Orientation in Literature and Art"]

[Text] Thanks to our all-out effort to revive the tradition of revolutionary realism and to encourage truthfulness in literature and art, our socialist literature and art have taken big strikes in recent years. Their bonds with the people and their connection to the national life have grown stronger.

Literature and art must truthfully reflect life. Truthfulness has always been the hallmark of literary and art masterpieces throughout the ages. Many outstanding realist writers and artists have proved by their experience that truthfulness is the very soul of literature and art. The founders of Marxism, whenever they spoke about literature and art, would reconfirm again and again the importance of truthfulness for literature and art. This is the reason why they spoke so highly of the works of such realists as Shakespeare, Balzac, Charles Dickens, and Thackerary--simply because they presented a true picture of their times and of their society. "They opened the eyes of the world to political and social truth."

It is a pity that for quite a long time we, either intentionally or unintentionally, have overlooked the basic principle and law of literature and arts--that they must reflect life. Beginning in the late 1950's, we began to denounce "truthful writing" as an attempt to conform to a bourgeois and revisionist standard of literature and art. Then during the following decade of chaos, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" aggravated this mistake by stepping up the denunciation of "truthful writing" and willfully distorted the connection of literature and art to real life. As a result, literature and art designed "to cheat and to whitewash" began to inundate the nation. Predictably, as long as they presented a distorted and whitewashed picture of life, they lost their credibility with the people.

We are now setting things right again. We are restoring the shine to the Marxist theory on literature and art. We are reviving the tradition of revolutionary realism. We are offering a scientific explanation as to why truthfulness is important and necessary for literature and art. We are restoring the basic principle of the truthful presentation of life in literature and art as the rule of thumb for all modern writing. As a result, we have succeeded in rescuing literature and art from the never-never land and returning it to the firm ground of realism. In the last

few years, writers and artists in various departments have turned out a large number of works widely approved and appreciated by the people. These works have presented life in a breadth and depth such as never before possible. They have dealt with many subjects that were once taboo and have called attention to many important issues in our society. They tell stories which the people can identify with, and carry messages that the people enjoy hearing. They have once again restored credibility to literature and art as a viable social force.

The literary and art compositions of recent years give clear evidence that veteran and young writers alike, using the revolutionary realist approach, are writing candidly and with historical perspective about the complex contradictions and struggles in our national life and about the stupendous changes that accompany our social progress and development. Some of their works explore the deep recesses of our national life and are incisive and thoughtful in raising and at the same time answering many major questions of our times--questions that are uppermost in the people's minds. Some of them describe the changes in people's lives as they strive for socialist modernization under the leadership of our party. Some relate how people, with renewed spirit and confidence, are fighting against unacceptable ideas and lifestyles. Some tell of a new generation of trail blazers dedicated to the socialist modernization program. While they deal with different aspects of our national life and write about different people, they all have one thing in common--based faithfully on the authors' real-life experiences, they boldly draw attention to the real contradictions as they exist in our society and sympathetically describe the personalities and inner feelings of people from all walks of life. At the same time, while sticking to facts, they also reveal the authors' thoughts and feelings about life and the characters which they have put to pen. Readers will share the warm feeling and the approving attitude of the authors when they read about noble characters and good people. Similarly, they will feel the hatred and disdain of the others when they read about improper ideas and deplorable conduct. Thus truthfully transcribing their impressions of life in literary and art forms, the authors are at the same time transmitting to their readers the warmth of their revolutionary zestfulness. The success of their labors attests once more to the fact that truth is the very soul of the arts, and proves convincingly once more that as we promote truthful expression, we can still achieve unity between truthfulness and ideological rectitude, in keeping with the mission of socialist literature and art.

However, as we applaud the restoration of truthfulness to literature and art, we cannot help noticing some vexing problems in certain compositions--misunderstanding and mishandling of the relationship between truthful expression and the overriding theme. Specifically, some writers are unsure what constitutes truthfulness in literature and art. What they do is to record what they have experienced in real life, without being selective in their raw material. They do not know that as writers they must present typical and significant experiences of life and that in their presentation they must then add their own message. This misunderstanding has led them either to dwell upon the ugly side of life and lend their sympathy and approval to ideas and conduct that deserve no sympathy or approval at all, or to choose subjects that appeal to the lower instincts or cheap tastes of man. These writers suffer from excesses of naturalism to varying degrees. Other writers, on the other hand, have a total disregard for reality. They seize on a preconceived theme and then proceed to make up stories to support that theme. This amounts to artistic dishonesty. These writers suffer from the influence of subjectivism and formalism. They are merely stretching the truth to suit their controlling viewpoint. To sum up, the

above-mentioned two approaches to writing represent two extremes, both of which arise out of a misunderstanding of what is honesty in writing and what is thematic rectitude in literature and art as well as a misunderstanding of the relationship between the two.

I

In order to correctly understand the connection between truthfulness and thematic rectitude in literature and art, we must have a clear concept of what is truthfulness in literature and art--the very quality which we are trying to revive.

The works of recent years give ample evidence that some writers and artists are misinformed about what is artistic honesty and what is truthfulness. A few writers believe that by setting down on paper their personal observations of life, they are achieving artistic honesty and truthfulness. They believe that as long as they write about actual events in life, they are being truthful. In other words, they are equating a record of the phenomena of life to artistic honesty and truthfulness in literature and art.

It is true that the theory of equating a chronicle of facts and phenomena of life to artistic honesty held sway for a time in the annals of literature. However, it was a theory held dear by the naturalists, not by the realists. Emile Zola, the exponent of French naturalism, once said: "The highest virtue of a novelist is his honesty." He continued: To put real-life characters in real-life situations and to present to the readers certain episodes of human life, that is all there is to a naturalist novel."¹ Zola said these words in his "Le Roman Experimental," a collection of essays that expound the theory of naturalism. This shows that artistic honesty and truthfulness are also qualities recognized in naturalist writing, even though Zola's "truthfulness" stopped at the "mere recording of facts as they happened."² Ironically, even Zola himself did not always abide by his own theory of simply recording facts and phenomena of life as they are; yet in setting forth his naturalist theory about the writing of novels and dramas, he did relegate "truthfulness" to a "mere recording of facts." In his essay "Naturalism in Drama," he said: "A naturalist novel will have no part in adding or deleting details of real life.... Being natural is all that we want to be--we start with this concept and accept nature for what it is, without trying in any way to change or kill it."³ According to this theory, literature must serve up details of life as they are, unheven and unadorned. Naturalism denies writers the choice to do any sorting, refining, summing up, or whittling as regards their material. It does not recognize the importance of imagination, fictionalization, and stereotyping in the creative process.

However, according to the Marxist theory of reflection, literature and art do not reflect realities like mechanical, simplistic, and direct mirror images. There must be a dynamic, thoughtful and penetrating reflection filtered through the author's mind. Literature and art should not be mere recordings of random episodes of life. They must present individual episodes in such a way as to reveal the essence of life. Maupassant once said: "A modern realist, if he is an artist at all, does not give us merely still photographs of life. He must paint a portrait of life more rounded, more touching, and more precise than life itself."⁴ The so-called still photographs of life are simple chronicle of random episodes. Any literature reduced to such a recordkeeping role obviously lacks insight into life's essence or social truth and, as such, will be devoid of any philosophical meaning and aesthetic value generally

attributed to its genre. Therefore, artistic honesty and truthfulness, as we know them, do not mean a mere recording of mundane details of life. What we want is a presentation of life's episodes in such a way as to lend insight into life's essence. Naturally we cannot go to the other extreme by ignoring the mission of literature and art and requiring truthfulness insofar as it concerns the bare bones of life. After all, literature cannot deal with life's essence for its own sake without presenting certain real situations in life. If literature should fail to give a true portrait of the phenomena of life, it would not live up to its image as an art form but would become an abstract diagram of life's essence. As such, literature would lose its realistic touch as a type of art. Thus, artistic honesty and truthfulness in reflecting the essence and law of life should be kept in their proper context.

It is true that any event in life forms a unity between phenomenon and essence. In other words, every phenomenon of life is an outward expression of its essence. Nevertheless, this does not mean that all the phenomena of life will give the same outward expression of life's essence. The phenomena of life are unrelated, tangible, tangled, and unpredictable. The essence of life is the constant and stable thread that runs through all those phenomena. That is why not every phenomenon of life will speak for its essence in the same way. Some phenomena of life are capable of giving a full and penetrating view of life's essence, and some are not. So there is a difference as to how well the phenomena can express their common essence. Furthermore, there is also a matter of how. Some phenomena express the essence in a direct way. Some express it in an indirect way. Still others may even express it in a contrary and roundabout way. Marx once said: "If the outward expressions of things are identical with their inward law, then why do we need science?"⁵ Precisely because there are such complex and contradictory entanglements between phenomena and essence, it is up to the writers to analyze, screen, refine, condense, and summarize the unwieldy and unrelated abundance of life's phenomena which they have observed so that they can give a better focused, fuller, more penetrating, and more broadly representative view of life's essence through the presentation of the more colorful and more salient of the phenomena of life. Lu Xun once said that a brave man "does fight, but he needs rest, he needs food and drink, and naturally he needs sex, too. If someone were to paint a portrait of him emphasizing his last-mentioned need and hang it on the wall of a house of prostitution under the title 'Portrait of the King of Sexual Prowess,' the title would not be a total lie, but it would hardly do justice to the subject of the portrait." Of course, this is merely a figure of speech. Nevertheless, it does mean that not every phenomenon can give a full, well-focused, penetrating view of the essence. If a writer were to transport his observations of life's phenomena unchanged to his writing without analysis, selection, and screening, he could not present life's phenomena in such a way as to open the essence to full view. In fact, by doing so he might even conceal or distort the view into life's essence.

Therefore, we are convinced that it is wrong to equate artistic honesty and truthfulness to a mere recording of life's facts and phenomena. A writer must select, purify, compress, and typify certain phenomena of life and then present a dynamically refined and reconstructed version of real life. Such an effort is artistic honesty and truthfulness. Maxim Gorkiy once said: "Literary honesty--it is an effort to extract a specimen from a host of similar facts."⁷ He continued: "It is necessary to stereotype phenomena" in order that literature can reflect life as it is.

Just because naturalism refuted the law of stereotyping phenomena of life for the sake of artistic honesty, it was honest enough only in portraying the superficial aspect of those phenomena but fell short of the honesty of presenting life's intrinsic value through its phenomena. For instance, "The Dram Shop," a novel by Zola evidencing the strongest naturalist influence, told the story of how alcoholism brought degradation to the plumber Coupeau and to his family. The novel did give a true picture of the lives of alcoholics like Coupeau and his fellow-workers. As isolated cases, the portraits of alcoholics were truthful. Then what caused such phenomena? What was the inner connection between such phenomena and the despair felt by the working people? The novel made no attempt to correctly interpret or to reflect the basic problems that lay beneath the surface of the phenomena. In the novel, Coupeau turned overnight from an honest, hard-working laborer into an alcoholic after his accidental fall from a rooftop. The author explained that it was a manifestation of a dormant alcoholic gene in Coupeau's system. The author failed to truthfully reflect the social conditions that contributed to alcoholism of the working people. The realities in Coupeau's time coincided with Paul Lafargue's description: "Capitalism forces working people to seek temporary relief, as well as nourishment, from alcohol. Some workers hit the bottle because of the nature of their work. Others take up drinking for other reasons." Lafargue also noted that "The Dram Shop" pointed up a common problem for naturalist writers. "They see only the obvious surface of the phenomena. They do not have the insight to see what course events may take in their further development, nor do they trace them to their causes or grasp the complexity of how they react and counterreact to each other."⁸

The problem pinpointed by Lafargue is precisely the problem we see in some literary compositions which we are reading these days. When reflecting on the complex phenomena of life, these modern writers are merely putting down on paper their impressions and observations and describing "only the obvious surface of the phenomena." They have failed to develop a full understanding or to make a precise anatomy of those phenomena, thus failing to bring to light life's essence correctly and penetratingly by presenting the common qualities of those phenomena. In some works, the authors mistake the outside for the inside and the parts for the whole. In others, the authors, unable to see through the illusions of life to its essence, are completely taken in by the illusions and cover up or distort the true image of life and people with the illusions they see. For example, there is a novel that deals with the underground resistance against the Japanese occupation during the time of the war against Japan. It describes the deputy commander of a force of enemy collaborators dispatched by the Japanese to wipe out our guerrilla forces as being a gentleman true to his word, true to his love, and with a heart of gold. It goes to great lengths in describing his pure devotion to a girl who is one of our underground agents. It tells how he went back to North China to work for the Japanese invaders, how he executed a traitor who had tipped the Japanese off about our female agent, and how he helped a deputy secretary of one of our party district committees escape from the Japanese. It concludes that such a complex phenomenon is but a manifestation of his true love and devotion for our female agent. It completely ignores the historical background against which the stark national struggle and class struggle were developing at that time. It interprets the relationship between characters on our side and characters on the enemy's side in abstract human terms, thereby distorting the true nature of the characters and ignoring historical realities. There is another novel that tells the story of the son of a landlord who fell in love with his stepmother and who was to experience prolonged frustration because of social objections. It is the same

old story of boy meeting girl and love at first sight. It describes the first meeting between the stepson and the stepmother with great vulgarity and sentimentality. It goes like this: The son of the landlord was stunned by his stepmother's beauty and was overwhelmed by a desire to possess her. His stepmother, for her part, was also impressed by the stepson's youthfulness and good manners and decided to give up her husband for his son. The story explains away such vulgar, unhealthy, and sneaky relationships as being common human behavior. In fact, it even dignifies such relationships as a form of "defiance" against the feudal code of ethics--a defiance that has a progressive meaning. It blames the appropriate treatment of their kind by the people after liberation (classifying them as landlord elements) as an obstacle to the fulfillment of their human passion. This story makes no reference whatsoever to the fact that they were once exploiters and oppressors. It evades the fact that their relationships to each other, their feelings, and their thoughts are typically those of the exploiting class. It pulls the characters out of their social environments and describes their relationships to each other in totally abstract terms. By so doing, the novel loses sight of the fact that man is basically a social being, and it misses the essence of life entirely.

The above examples make it clear that the random selection of life's phenomena by writers does not necessarily interpret or reflect life's essence in a true light. If writers wish to interpret and reflect such essence correctly through the presentation of phenomena, they must develop a profound understanding and an accurate assessment of the realities and their background, after a process of hard thinking and arduous artistic exploration. This process is a vital link to gleaning the most typical of all of the phenomena of life. Failing that, there is no way a writer can achieve artistic honesty or truthfulness in literature and art.

II

Since a few comrades have a naturalist attitude toward truthfulness and regard artistic honesty as the honesty in recording the details and phenomena of life as they are, they fail to see the natural connection between truthfulness and orientation. Some comrades say that truthfulness in literature and art is purely objective, "unaffected by the writer's thoughts and feelings, political leanings, or esthetic ideals." Some even hold the belief that when literature is truthful, it does not need a message, thus ignoring the fact that the writer's ideological bend and esthetic ideal play an important role in how he chooses to reflect realities in his art. This kind of attitude is evident in a few works in which the authors, when portraying the phenomena of social life with so-called objectivism, are merely arranging a number of negative and ugly phenomena for exhibition, forgetting that as writers they should add their impartial judgments and assessments.

We all know that the reflection of life in literature and art involves a process of refining and reconstruction in writers' and artists' minds. During such a process, the writers' thoughts, feelings, and esthetic ideas cannot help leaving their mark. Obviously a writer's own experiences and his understanding and interpretation of life will affect the selection and reconstruction of his subject matter and then the fashioning of his art. Art, defined in the most basic terms, is nothing but an esthetic reaction to reality. Through their chosen art forms, artists must reflect life objectively in the true light and at the same time subjectively add their own esthetic evaluation. Their objectivism and subjectivism are like two sides of a coin. Thus, the reflection of life in literature and art cannot be divorced from the

authors' state of mind and their esthetic attitude. Therefore, to say that truthfulness is a purely objective matter and to disclaim any inherent connection between truthfulness and orientation is to be blind to the realities of literary and art creation. Martin Bielski once said: "A purely objective portrayal of life in poetry...there has never been anything like that, nor will there be."⁹

The process by which a writer achieves truthfulness in his art by typification is the same process by which he presents certain phenomena of life in order to shed light on the essence and laws of life. It is also a process by which he expresses his ideas and feelings through the objective realities he chooses to describe. In this process, he is making a conscious effort to reconstruct his material to suit his own purposes. On the one hand, he will collect and screen a number of separate, concrete phenomena of life which are capable of mirroring the essence of certain things and which, in his opinion, are typical of most phenomena of life. Then he will further refine and compress them, and give them a touch of his imagination in order to present vivid and colorful portrayals of certain things--portrayals which are both personal statements of his individuality and truthful and typical pictures of social life in general. On the other hand, he will inject his own thoughts into whatever he chooses to write about. He will edit and refine the material taken from raw life in such a way as to provide an outlet for his feelings and a forum for his thoughts and esthetic ideals. Thus through his truthful and typical portrayals, his own interpretation of life and his esthetic taste can come across loud and clear. It is therefore clear that in the process of typification, the writer can inject a message into a truthful presentation of life. The desire to present life as it is and the desire to express one's thoughts and feelings are intertwined and inseparable. What is real for art differs from what is real in life not only in the sense that the former is more precise, more representative, and has a broader appeal but also in the sense that the former possesses a quality lacking in the latter--the thoughts and feelings which the writer wishes to convey.

As mentioned earlier in this article, at one time in the history of literature the naturalists did insist that the only objective of literature was to record life with objective precision, and that a message had no place in literature or the arts. Ironically, neither Zola nor Flaubert achieved strict objectivity in their works. Though other naturalists did try to adhere to the naturalist style of writing, none of them produced anything that can be described as totally devoid of message and emotion. Nevertheless, their belittling of and even total disregard for the importance of edification in literature and art did do a great deal of harm. The upshot is that writers are no longer fulfilling their lofty mission to society of interpreting and evaluating life by a correct ideology and a correct attitude. They no longer are pursuing the goal of seeking to edify and to educate the public with their literary and artistic creations. The resulting ideological weakness and misdirection in literature and art are reducing the role of literature and art as a social force. The harmful effects of the indifference toward the ideological orientation of literature and art are becoming evident in a few compositions that have been published in recent years. For example, some compositions dwell upon the crime in society during the decade of chaos. They bubble with great enthusiasm in describing in vivid terms shameless acts of lust and sex, the life of ruffians, and acts of violence. These writers express no distaste toward such ugly, filthy aspects of life. In fact, they seem to sympathize with and enjoy them. For example, there is a novel about a female Red Guard. She had boundless revolutionary zest. Adversity in her later life brought her into the midst of bad company and to the fate of being repeatedly raped and seduced.

To get even, she consented to live as the mistress of a gangster and thus began a career of crime and turned into a "devilish" woman gangster herself. The novel compared her to the heroine in Tolstoy's "Resurrection" and described here anti-social activities as her revenge against "gangster organizations" and the "nouveaux riches." Throughout this novel, the author's questionable mentality and esthetic taste are as plain as daylight. There are also a few other stories that deal with the confusion, emptiness, moroseness, and despair felt by the educated young people who were settled in the countryside during the years when the "gang of four" was in power. There is no doubt that these stories are truthful in reflecting the narrow, worldly ambitions and the feelings of emptiness and moroseness of the characters in the stories. The problem is that instead of taking a rational and critical look at the state of mind of those young people, the works express sympathy and support for the youngsters. The works, like the characters they depict, are filled with pessimism and encourage escapism. Obviously this type of work will not play a positive role, as literature and art should, in motivating the people to change their destiny.

It is to be pointed out that writers and artists are free to present any phenomenon of life and any type of characters, including the ugly and negative side of life and ugly and negative characters. At issue is their philosophy and their attitude as seen through their presentations. "It does not matter what an artist wishes to write about: saints, bandits, emperors, or servants. What we want to find and perceive is the soul of the artist himself."¹⁰ These extremely illuminating words of Leo Tolstoy leave no doubt that the artist's ideological bend and intellectual maturity determine the value of the message he is trying to get across. Goethe said: "An artist has a dual relationship with nature. He is both the master and slave of nature. He is a slave of nature in the sense that he must work with worldly materials in order to make himself understood. At the same time, he is the master of nature in the sense that he must make his worldly materials obey as well as serve a higher purpose."¹¹ What Goethe meant by "a higher purpose" is a noble spirit and a social commitment. A writer should not be satisfied with being a mere slave of nature and portray life for the sake of portraying life. He should reflect life with a nobleness of spirit and, by reflecting life, make his works serve certain lofty social purposes. This is in keeping with the unshirkable social mission of the writers when they reflect and depict life.

Writers who are conscious of their responsibility to society and the noble social mission of literature and art will never consent to a totally objective attitude in reflecting life. Nor will they accept the photocopying of life's phenomena for exhibition as the only function of literary creation. They will always try to combine the truthful depiction of life with a rational interpretation and evaluation of life. They will always try to marry the truthfulness in their works with the correct ideological orientation. In other words, modern writers must never be impassioned, inactive bystanders. They must be passionate, active critics of life. While they will not avoid depicting the ugly side of life, they will not merely be laying out the ugly phenomena as specimen or exhibits. Rather, in the process of artistic typification and esthetic screening, they will analyze ugly phenomena down to their essence. Then they will subject these phenomena to critical scrutiny by their high esthetic standards. This way they can arouse noble and righteous sentiments in the readers and encourage them to develop the ambition and enthusiasm to fight for the redress of life's ugliness. While they may portray negative, backward, and dull people, they will never stoop to the same intellectual level of these characters.

Nor will they endorse the negative and despondent feelings or the selfish and narrow ambitions of these characters. Instead, with a progressive and lofty idealism and a positive attitude toward life, they will criticize the negative and backward side of these characters in order to encourage their readers to do good. While they are exposing and lashing out at the ugly and vicious side of life, they are also revealing their love and admiration for the beautiful and good side of life. They will make an effort to draw attention to the noble and good side of life, pay tribute to it, and sing praises of it, so that goodness can provide an inspiring, admirable, and educational example for many people. That is why their works are often praised as "textbooks on life." The very qualities that earn such praises for them are their rational esthetic assessment of life and their progressive thoughts as expressed through art forms.

III

As we talk about orientation in literature and art, we must not forget that there are two tendencies. One is a cheap tendency toward subjectivism and formalism. The other is the correct tendency toward true artistic realism. The first tendency takes the arts away from truthfulness and strips the arts of their artistic qualities. The second tendency marries the arts to truthfulness and makes truthfulness part and parcel of the arts.

For a long time, our literature and arts, prey to ultraleftist influences, were showing a tendency toward subjectivism and formalism. Then Lin Biao and the "gang of four" added fuel to the fire by requiring writers to follow the rigid, subjective, formalist formula of first finding a theme and then arbitrarily fabricating events to suit that theme. This led writers to contrive abstract images merely to serve as diagrams of political slogans. Their theme was not only divorced from truthfulness but also direly detrimental to the pursuit of truthfulness. Today, we are trying to right the wrong and making some basic changes in the situation. Unfortunately, the problem of incompatibility between ideological rectitude and truthfulness remains unresolved. In some works, the political and ideological theme is overplayed at the expense of truthfulness to history and to life. In some works, the characters are mere mouthpieces who are broadcasting the subjective ideas of the writers, without any free will to think or act on their own and without any resemblance to real people. In some works, the authors, lacking experience in life and lacking artistic skills, rely on abstract arguments and expression, instead of examples from real life, to get their message across. These writings amount to what Lu Xun once criticized as "lecturing material." All this shows that preoccupation with a certain idea is always a hindrance to literary creation.

When they touched on the subject of the arts, the founders of Marxism pointed out, in unequivocal terms, that "our ideological concern should not make us forget our concern for realities." They criticized again and again the mistake in literature of ignoring reality in favor of a preconceived idea or sacrificing truthfulness for ideological rectitude. We all know that the characters portrayed in literature must be real people with whom we can identify in real life, given the need to redraw and redefine those characters for literary purposes. These characters must think and act like real people. The development of their personality must faithfully reflect the laws of life and the objective logic that determines personality development. They must show certain inclinations as determined by the kind of life they live as well as

by their individuality. But subjective and formalist literature is not based on real life. Rather, it is based on a subjectively conceived theme. As a result, the characters it portrays are not drawn from real life in its objective conditions; rather, they are conceived as tools to promote an idea. For this reason, the authors cast aside the law of life as well as the logic of human nature. They make their characters think and act in such a controlled manner as to impersonate their own political beliefs and preconceived ideas. Therefore, the characters, conceived to suit a subject, do not bear any resemblance to real people as presented in truthful literature. By conceiving such characters, the authors are committing the mistake of letting their ideological concern overrule their concern for reality and of sacrificing truthfulness for ideological rectitude. A case in point can be found in "The Mysteries of Paris" by Eugene Sue. This is a novel preaching the abstract Christian creed. The author, with total disregard for the true logic of life and human nature, forces his characters "to reach conclusions and develop motives for their actions" according to "the will of the author," thus turning "his characters into abstract ideas" as well as "meaningless empty shells that bear no resemblance to real people." He makes a "grotesque distortion of reality." Some of the works we are reading these days show a similar creative misdirection, with varying degree of deviousness. For example, there is a novel expressing welcome for the political development of renewed Sino-Japanese friendship. It evades the issue of who was right and who was wrong during the Sino-Japanese War and describes the coldblooded massacre of our forces by the Japanese fascists as a symbol of Sino-Japanese friendship. There is another novel that depicts the life during the decade of catastrophe. To express his own personal opinion, the author makes his characters say things no real people could have said and do things no real people could have done in those years. Both the personality traits of the characters and the episodes described in this novel are neither historically valid nor artistically truthful. It is a betrayal of the literary principle of revolutionary realism.

Subjective and formalist literature is not based on real life, but is written to echo a preconceived theme. Thus even the theme seems far removed from reality. It is not flesh-and-blood stuff but rather abstract general concepts. For this reason, the authors have to subjugate the personalities of their characters to certain principles, thus "turning individual into simple bullhorns for the voice of their times, like what Max Scheler is doing," a tendency in literature once criticized by Marx.

Therefore, if we are to remove the damage of the tendency toward subjectivism and abstract conceptualization in literature, we must adhere to the principle of realism in literature. We must let our message reside in the truthful portrayal of life in the arts and let our message speak for itself through art forms.

Realist literature grows out of the soil of real life. It "is born in the objective world." Its message is different from the abstract themes which we find in subjective and formalist writings. It is not a preconceived concept hatched in the writer's mind. It is not a cliché or a political slogan plucked out of a textbook. It is a message representing the author's true understanding and sensible evaluation of life by living it, observing it, and analyzing it, as shaped by his progressive world outlook. It is a message that arises from the author's first-hand contact with life's phenomena and real people. It is impregnated with flesh and blood. At the same time, it fits the shape of objective realities and conforms to the essence and

laws of life. For this reason, the message will come across loud and clear through the truthful portrayal of life alone, if it is done according to nature and laws of truthful reflection of life in literature and art. It does not need added abstract philosophizing for its expression.

Summing up the experiences of realistic writing, Engels wrote a letter to M Kautskiy setting forth his principle of incorporating "a socialist message" in the "truthful portrayal of existing relationships." This, in a nutshell, is the guiding principle for us to be able to achieve unity between our commitment to socialism and our truthfulness to reality. We must have our socialist message firmly planted in the realities of life, steeped in the qualities of truthfulness in literature and arts, and expressed through genuine art forms. We must never revert to the former subjective and idealist style of paraphrasing catchphrases and slogans.

IV

The explanation offered by Engels, that novels with a socialist message must effectively get that message across through the truthful portrayal of existing relationships, does not contradict but rather conforms to the principle of realist writing of marrying truthfulness to ideological rectitude. In other words, we can be truthful and at the same time show our commitment to our revolutionary cause in our literature and art. This is not a self-contradictory goal.

Some comrades summarily and thoughtlessly conclude that truthfulness and ideological rectitude are mutually exclusive. They refuse to believe that there is an intrinsic connection between the two. Some are even worried that the promotion of truthfulness will serve to dilute, or even to dissolve altogether, the revolutionary sentiments in literature and art. They sometimes even intentionally or unintentionally associate ideological deviousness in some literary works with the emphasis on truthfulness. Their conclusion is unscientific and groundless.

It has been said earlier in this article that ideological rectitude boils down to an author's correct understanding and sensible evaluation of life. It is born of life itself, and therefore it can reflect life in a true light. Thus it is compatible with the essence of life and agreeable with its laws of development. The quality of truthfulness which we are promoting today is precisely the truthfulness in presenting through the portrayal of life's phenomena, the relationship between reality and its outward manifestations and the truthfulness in reflecting the essence of life and the laws of its development. This being so, how can truthfulness and ideological rectitude be mutually exclusive in literature and art? How can the promotion of truthfulness be made at the expense of ideological rectitude? Support truthfulness and ideological rectitude are in conflict; how then can the "truthful portrayal of existing relationships" carry a socialist message? Creative practices have proved that when a writer is guided by correct ideas and follows the law of artistic typification, his truthful portrayal of life and his honest effort at artistic expression will automatically reveal his correct understanding and sensible evaluation of life and will automatically evidence ideological rectitude. In his "La Comedie Humaine," Balzac presented a true picture of the bourgeois nouveaux riches of all descriptions. He gave a truthful account of how they, under the protection of the laws of the state and with the support of public opinion, had resorted to fraud and violence in their plunder of bloodstained gold to satisfy their personal greed.

Didn't his artistic honesty of the highest order speak for his correct understanding of how the bourgeoisie had enriched themselves? Didn't his writing reveal his critical attitude toward the bourgeoisie who ruled France in this time? In "Das Kapital," Marx commented on the "depiction in precise details" of the usurers in Balzac's "Peasants" and "Usurers." He concluded: "Balzac shows great insight in his studies of human greed of all descriptions," and "Balzac has a profound understanding of existing relationships." What was Marx trying to say? Was he saying precisely that truthfulness and ideological rectitude in literature are interrelated and mutually complimentary?

It is true that when we look at a particular literary composition, we may notice some complex conflicts between truthfulness and ideological orientation. In some truthful portrayals, we may detect some incorrect assessments of life by the authors. This discrepancy was not uncommon in classical literature. However, we must deal with each case on its own merits. We cannot make the generalization that truthfulness is bound to conflict with the author's ideological stand. On the one hand, we must not forget that any truthful portrayal of life must be imbued with the truth of life and, as such, never fails to carry a correct ideological message and esthetic substance. In this sense, truthfulness and ideological rectitude are still interrelated and mutually complimentary. On the other hand, we will see that at times a writer's erroneous assessment of life often expresses itself through untruthful portrayal. The untruthful portrayal indeed contradicts truthful portrayal and thus undermines, to varying degrees, the honest reflection of life in literature. In this case, we can only say that there is a conflict between erroneous ideas and truthfulness. We cannot say that there is a conflict between truthfulness and ideological rectitude. The preponderance of literature, both ancient and modern, and both Chinese and foreign, attests to the fact that the wrong theme can inhibit, weaken, and destroy truthfulness in literature and art, but a truthful depiction of life will never project the wrong theme. The ideological errors that we find in a few of the current works can always be traced to the authors' questionable world outlook and esthetic taste, and are not the result of a truthful reflection of life. They are not what some comrades have described as being unquestionably truthful but of having a questionable slant. In actual fact, they may be somewhat untruthful in reflecting life. Some of them make certain untruthful representations. Others make certain distortions. This point has been dealt with earlier in this article. If this is the case, how can the questionable ideological slant in these works be blamed on the promotion of truthfulness in literature and art?

A writer's correct understanding and evaluation of life must be based on correct reflection of objective realities and on truthful reflection of life. There is no such thing as literature that, while flouting objective reality and distorting the facts of life, can still project the correct message. In the history of literature, there was once a school of negative romanticism--a school that emphasized the writer's subjective viewpoint to the point of disregarding objective reality. It maintained that good poetry came from within, from "soul-searching." It opposed the truthful reflection of life. For example, in his novel "Atala," French romantic writer Chateaubriand preached the greatness of Christianity from his own subjective viewpoint, just as he had done in another of his works, "The Genius of Christianity." With total disregard for the laws of life and human nature, Chateaubriand dreamed up an Indian girl with an early passion for romance, who later gave up her love for her religious beliefs and in the end committed suicide. That is why Marx once described Chateaubriand as "the very personification of French vanity in all its manifestations." Marx also described his works as "a hodgepodge of unprecedented lies, both in form and in substance." His imaginary, untruthful portrayals indeed complemented the reactionary character of his message.

Realism requires the truthful reflection of life. To meet this requirement, writers must look reality square in the eye, be faithful to reality, and bring their thinking into line with objective reality. They will never try to bend objective reality to suit their own ideas, as the negative romanticists did. Rather, they will tailor their ideas to suit objective reality. To make sure that they can truthfully portray life, writers must plunge into the thick of life to find out what lies beneath its surface. Since man's correct ideas come from practice as well as from observing, getting involved in, analyzing, and studying objective reality, promoting truthfulness in literature and art and persisting in its promotion do not mean a rejection of ideological rectitude but, on the contrary, will only strengthen ideological rectitude. The writings of many realist writers bear testimony to this fact.

We all know that, for a time, realist writers often faced the contradiction of whether they should be true to their own feelings or whether they should be true to objective reality. Their class sympathy and political prejudices often were misplaced and historically irrelevant. This often cast a shadow on their works. However, if they had been faithful to the principle of realistic truthfulness and to objective reality, and if they had been able to overcome their subjective prejudices and their being contradictory to objective reality, with the correct lessons which they had learned at first hand from life, they could have reconciled their ideological orientation with the need to reflect life truthfully. Turgenev once said: "The greatest happiness for a writer is to faithfully and effectively reflect current life as it is, even to the point where he can no longer reconcile truth with his personal with his personal inclinations."¹² These words summarize the belief of all the outstanding realist writers of the past. When they were "faithfully and effectively reflecting truth," they were at the same time adjusting their personal views according to the logic of objective realities. Turgenev himself subscribed to the political belief that Russia should look at Eastern Europe for inspiration; yet in his novel "A House of Gentlefolk" he described the comical nature and vulgarity of "Westerners," traits displayed by his character Panshin--an indication that the Russian aristocratic intellectuals were losing their place in history. Turgenev also subscribed to moderate aristocratism and disagreed with the revolutionary democrats; yet in his novel "Fathers and Sons" he built up his character Bazarov, who was a radical democratic intellectual, as a man towering above the aristocrats around him. He also described aristocrats Pavel and Nikolay Piotrovich Kirsanov, the opposite of Bazarov, as being unable to keep up with the times and unable to advance Russian society. Obviously the message in these works contradicted the conservative and backward political beliefs of the author. Why was that so? Turgenev replied: "This is because, by my own understanding, life is precisely like that under a particular set of circumstances. After all, I want first of all to be an honest and a righteous man." It is clear that what he wrote was the logical outcome of his devotion to truthfulness in literature and truthfulness to life. Thus, a writer who strictly follows the principle of realism and who is committed to truthful reflection of life will be able, out of his respect for reality, to cast aside erroneous ideas contradicting objective reality in favor of correct ideas conforming to objective reality and to give up his personal prejudices for the sake of truth. This is what Engels described as "the great triumph of realism."

Perhaps some people will argue that Engels' proclamation of "the great triumph of realism" had meaning only for the writers of a past era, but not any more. Facts have proved these people wrong. Someone's personal view cannot possibly reflect objective reality truthfully at all times and under all circumstances. There is

often a time lag between the formation of a personal view and the reality on which the view is based. Thus, as far as the process of learning about the objective world is concerned, there is a constant need to resolve the contradiction between the subjective view and the objective world. By the same token, there are times when our writers' political views and political leanings are at odds with reality. At those times, they may have a problem of resolving the clashes between their personal views and the facts of life. That is when they must choose to be true to life, in order to overcome their misjudgments and form the correct opinions. The experiences, both positive and negative, in introducing socialist literature and art have demonstrated that the only way to achieve unity between the subjective and the objective worlds and unity between socialist themes and truthfulness is to be true to life and true to objective reality.

FOOTNOTES

1. Zola, "About Fiction," in Vol 8 of "A Collection of Translations Related to Classical Literary Theory," p 122.
2. Quoted from Vol 2 of "Reference Materials on Foreign Literature" (the part on 19th and early 20th century literature), p 786.
3. Zola, "Naturalism in Drama," in Vol 2 of "A Collection of Essays by Foreign Writers on Literary Theory," p 248.
4. Maupassant, "Fiction."
5. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 923.
6. Lu Xun, sixth draft of "Title Undecided," in his "Chejian Villa Essays."
7. Gorkiy, "To Young Writers," p 70.
8. Lafargue, "On Zola's Money," in "A Collection of Lafargue's Essays," p 136.
9. Zhu Guangchien, "A Western History of Aesthetics," Vol 2 , p 534.
10. Quoted from Vol 4 of "Reference Materials for Literary Research."
11. Goethe, "Dialogue," p 137.
12. Turgenev, "Fathers and Sons."
13. Ibid.

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CSO: 4005/904

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FOLLOWING LENIN MORE CLOSELY IN LITERARY CRITICISM URGED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI [Liberation Army Literature and Art] in Chinese No 9, Sep 81 pp 31-32

[Article by Fan Ping [0028 1456]: "How Lenin Protected Gorkiy"]

[Text] There is an old saying: "Since people are not perfect, how can they be faultless?" An artist, no matter how gifted and accomplished, often finds it hard to avoid bias in his concept and representation of the objective world. Consequently, many conscientious and wise writers do not mind criticism. Today there are those who just do not have any tolerance for criticism, and some comrades are especially loath to listen to literary criticism. This is probably the residual impact of the radical leftist criticism campaigns conducted by the "gang of four." People get panicky the moment they face criticism, taking it as a sign of some political movement. This residual impact will eventually wear out. At any rate, criticism is essential. Is it the best way to protect the writers from having their erroneous works left unscathed or dismissed by saying, "Who cares?"

Now let us take a look at the way Lenin protected Gorkiy. That is a meaningful lesson we have to learn.

Gorkiy's contribution to proletarian literature is well known. He was a veteran revolutionary in the Bolshevik Party and one of its earliest members. Lenin's classical work "Party Organization and Party Literature" appeared first in the "New Life" edited by Gorkiy. Gorkiy's novel "Mother," which laid the foundation of proletarian literature, has won universal renown. Lenin always had in mind the well-being of this proletarian literary giant, so much so that he even expressed in his letters to Gorkiy his concern about the latter's minor illnesses, such as the flu. Yet Lenin expressed a different kind of concern on two separate occasions. He criticized Gorkiy.

After the failure of the revolution in 1905, Gorkiy, who became infatuated with idealism, wrote a medium-length novel entitled "repent," attempting to combine religion and socialism. When this came to his knowledge, Lenin wrote Gorkiy two letters at the end of 1913 offering his severe criticism. In his first letter, Lenin accused Gorkiy of using "colorful paper to wrap sugar-coated poison" to "entice" the souls of the townspeople. In his second letter, Lenin said that as a matter of principle, "Your definition is capitalistic (unscientific and anti-historical), as it is based on a sweeping, general, and 'Robinsonian' concept

which represents neither any historical period nor any class." He went on rather sarcastically: "If the people had freedom in Russia, the entire capitalist class would praise you to the skies for the stuff you offer, your sociology and theology, which are capitalistic in style and nature." This was harsh criticism.

After the triumph of the revolution in 1917, Gorkiy was not sure whether the Russian proletariat could grasp political power firmly. Lenin attacked Gorkiy's "utterly unhealthy mentality" and branded his attack on "low-class" literature as "extremely unreasonable." He asked Gorkiy to move to a new environment--to be close to the troops, the villages, and the factories--in order to observe the great creative work undertaken by the working people and to understand the lofty objectives of the work so as to regain the vital qualities of an artist. This criticism was merciless and candid.

Lenin's severe and "disgracing" criticism was made public at that time. Instead of brooding over it, Gorkiy, a genuine proletarian writer, took Lenin's criticism as guidance given by a stern teacher to his student and "assistance" extended by a comrade to his friend.

The fact that Lenin resorted to severe criticism to protect Gorkiy represents the manifestation of his conviction: "Talented persons are rare. They should be given constant and carefully weighed support.... It is sinful if you don't assist them." In addition to Gorkiy, Lenin also used criticism to assist such gifted poets as Demya Bedni and Mayakovsky.

It is a shame that, owing to the disasters perpetrated by the "gang of four" and our own fault, we have not closely followed the teachings of Lenin in our literary criticism. We might say that very few of our writers have enjoyed genuine protection through criticism. This is due for a change. We have to launch practical and realistic Marxist literary criticism in order to protect our writers and enrich our socialist literature and art.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

RADIO, TV, WIRED-BROADCAST SERVICES EXPANDING IN SHANXI

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 81 p 1

[Article: "Preliminary Broadcast, TV Network Established Throughout the Province"]

[Text] Broadcasting and television services in our province have been growing rapidly ever since the founding of the People's Republic 32 years ago. A preliminary network of broadcasts and television radiating from the Shanxi People's Broadcasting Station and Shanxi Television Station has been established throughout the province. Now all important news may reach all parts of the province by means of radio and wire broadcasts run by the provincial radio station, and television run by the provincial television station.

Today there are three mediumwave stations and eight relay stations in the province with a broadcasting capacity over 400 times greater than that in the earlier years of liberation. The groundwave covers 50 percent of the area of the province and 44.5 percent of its population. A frequency modulation broadcasting network which began in 1971 has helped the city and county broadcasting stations to transmit quality programs from the Central People's Broadcasting Station and the provincial broadcasting station.

Preparations for the Shanxi Television Station began in 1958, and test transmission started in May 1960. After more than 20 years of measured development, the province now has one central television station, 12 relay stations, and 76 low-power differential turntables with a transmission capacity powerful enough to reach 47 percent of its population. The provincial television station in Shanxi uses two frequency channels for transmission. Color television was introduced in 1978. As the people's standard of living has improved, the number of television sets has increased to 200,000. The inauguration of an educational program on television provides a modern vehicle of education to speed up the training of technical personnel for the four modernizations. Since the establishment of a television college in our province, we have had two groups of more than 12,700 students recruited from various localities and cities throughout the province.

Wire-broadcast services in the villages have developed extensively in the past 32 years. Today every county has a broadcasting station, 98 percent of the communes have broadcast amplifiers, 90 percent of the counties have exclusive broadcasting wires to reach the communes, 95 percent of the communes have exclusive broadcasting wires to reach the production brigades, and 66 percent of the production brigades have exclusive broadcasting wires. Now there are 3,653,000 loudspeakers to serve more than 70 percent of the farm households. The masses say in praise of the loudspeakers: "By means of a small loudspeaker on the wall, we listen to what the Party Central Committee has to say, across the expanse of mountains and rivers, to greet the advances of the four modernizations every day."

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INCORRECT, 'LIBERAL' APPROACH TO CRITICISM CONDEMNED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Oct 81 p 1

[Article by Zhang Guoshuai [1728 0948 1596]: "Do Not Confuse the 'Three Don'ts Doctrine' With Liberalism"]

[Text] Don't find fault with people; don't put labels on people; don't bludgeon people. These are known as "three don'ts doctrine"--the safeguards of democracy within the party and the people's democracy. Ever since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party has been upholding the "three don'ts doctrine" thus invigorating the thinking of the cadres and the masses, who can speak without inhibition, and ushering in a lively political setting throughout the country.

But we must point out that some comrades have a lopsided view of the "three don'ts doctrine" and believe that we should tolerate all erroneous opinions, views, and actions and should not refute, criticize, or struggle against them. Consequently, they maintain a liberal attitude toward erroneous opinions. There are also those who remain behind the "shield" provided by such distorted interpretations of the "three don'ts doctrine" and speak irresponsibly or even disseminate opinions which are contrary to the spirit of the party's policy and detrimental to the interests of the party and the people. They denounce any criticism they encounter as "bludgeons." This is obviously erroneous.

As a matter of fact, the "three don'ts doctrine" and liberalism have nothing in common. As we all know, the guiding principles behind the "three don'ts doctrine" are to develop democracy and be warned by what people say without incriminating them. This is designed to encourage the masses to launch, without fear, criticism and self-criticism which benefit the revolution. Acting on these principles, no comrade who expresses erroneous opinions should be pinned down for a single mistake and subjected to brutal struggles and merciless attacks. But this does not mean letting all errors go unchecked. Instead, we must follow the policy of "unite-criticize-unite," in order to extend well-intentioned help and enable those being criticized to distinguish right from wrong, to seek truth from facts, and to raise their level of understanding. It is clear that the "three don'ts doctrine" is not meant to reject criticism and self-criticism. It is needed to launch criticism and self-criticism, to serve the interests of correct criticism and self-criticism, and to give expression to the proletarian party spirit. Liberalism which rules out criticism and self-criticism represents both ideological laxity and bourgeois

liberalization, both of which pre diametrically opposed to the proletarian party spirit. Should there still be any questions?

To launch criticism and self-criticism and to practise the "three don'ts doctrine" constitute the excellent tradition and style of our party, while liberalism is what it always opposes. This was true in the past, and it is true today. We must rectify all muddled ideas and erroneous concepts in this particular field. We must uphold the "three don'ts doctrine" and justly and forcefully launch criticism and even appropriate struggle to overcome bourgeois liberal tendencies and correct all deviations, so as to unite the cadres and the masses to forge ahead wholeheartedly and to carry out the four modernizations well.

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REVIEW QUESTIONS LIFE PHILOSOPHY IN NOVEL

Shanghai WENHUI BAO in Chinese 17 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Yao Zhengming [1202 2973 2494] and Wu Mingying [0702 2494 3841]:
"What Kind of 'Life Philosophy?'--Review of the Novel 'Man, Oh Man!'"]

[Text] Editor: After its publication, the novel "Man, Oh Man!" aroused a controversy among some of the readers. The novel describes the adverse lots of several intellectuals in the university from the mid-fifties, through the "Great Cultural Revolution," to a time after the downfall of the "gang of four" and the tremendous changes in their ideals, faiths and pursuits. In their article, Comrades Yao Zhengming and Wu Mingying express their own views. In accordance with the spirit of a hundred schools of thought contending, we hope our readers will continue to express their opinions on this novel.

After publication by the Guangdong People's Publishing House, the novel "Man, Oh Man!" produced a fairly strong reaction among some of the readers. Their evaluations and comments are varied. We wish to express, in this article, some views on just how to regard and evaluate this work.

A Work with Distinctive Features

The popularity of "Man, Oh Man!" among some readers, especially the young, is not incidental. Compared with other novels of recent years, this book indeed has its distinctive features. Using college life as the background and describing the adverse and tortuous life experiences in the period from the mid-fifties to a time after the downfall of the "gang of four," it exposes and denounces, to a certain extent, the disasters brought to the state and the people by the ultra-leftwing line and the resulting distortion and alienation of human nature. The author strives to express, by means of the artistic form of novel, an idea, viz., "Marxism and humanitarianism are not incompatible as fire and water. Marxism contains humanitarianism, and is the most thorough and most revolutionary humanitarianism."

Different from the general works reflecting the "Great Cultural Revolution," the novel emphatically expresses the views of the intellectuals on life and

history and on ideal and faith. From her "Postscript," we learn that the author once "devoutly" took part in the so-called "class struggle" and "line struggle" and served as a "rebel soldier" of the "red command" and a "little steel cannon" of the "mass criticisms, and that the novel is the result of her meditation and summary of the history of this period. Precisely as announced by the author, "it is a conscious and voluntary self-expression of my own thinking and feelings." When she declares that "I am not afraid that people will haul out the 'me' in my work," it is because she underwent certain personal experiences, thereby conveying powerful true emotions and honest feelings in her work. Therefore, some readers often see their own images here and there in the novel and feel a sympathy in their hearts. Furthermore, novels in general often stress the plot, but overlook revelations of the life philosophy, while the novel here devotes its main effort on the latter. The author strives, by means of the work, to express her understanding of history and reality and her search for the meaning of life. As such expressions bear a certain philosophical coloring, some readers are gratified to a certain extent.

In artistic expression, the author lets the major characters recount the story in the first person, thus fairly fully manifesting the richness and complexity of their relations and revealing their personalities. To make meticulous portrayals of their inner world, the author resorts to some non-realist techniques to describe their fantasies and dreams. While not following the chronological order in unfolding the plot, the novel gives attention to the completeness of the story, economizing ink and creating a leaping and flowing rhythm. Such artistic features doubtlessly add to the novel's attraction to a certain extent. We must admit that "Man, Oh Man!" is a work with individuality and style. Nevertheless, we must likewise not overlook the issues in its ideological content which call for discussion.

The Way to Regard History and Reality

How to regard history and how to summarize its experiential lessons are an important content of the novel. Meanwhile, the way to regard history cannot be separated from the attitude on reality. How does this novel regard history and reality?

The following passage appears at the beginning of its first chapter: "In the mind of each and every individual is concealed a history, each active in its own way." We will now take the main characters in the novel as illustrations and look at their views on history.

A middle-aged teacher in the C city university, Xu Hengzhong was once an activist in the magnified "anti-rightist" movement and a rebel in the "Great Cultural Revolution." After the downfall of the "gang of four," he wanted to take part in the criticism of the gang, but was considered by old cadre Xi Liu, who had been criticized and struggled against by him in those days, an "aide" to the "gang" and forbidden to publish his articles of criticism. Thereupon, he felt that "the whole history can be summarized in four words: Over and over again. In the past, I turned others upside down, and now I am turned upside down by others. I've seen through the whole thing."

While a student, Sun Yue, the heroine, was considered a docile good student by the leaders. She suffered reverses during the 10-year calamity. Finding a new love, her husband divorced her. She now served as the general branch secretary of the Chinese department in the C city university, but, when pondering her past experiences, she sensed a pain never felt before. The real life made her feel that "history and reality are all the same, and no one should think of separating them. I am bored with it all."

He Jingfu is the ideal figure vigorously portrayed by the author. He joined the party when barely 18 years of age, but was classified a "rightist" in the magnified anti-rightist movement. Thereafter, serving in jail and leading a wandering life, he suffered all kinds of adversities. He declared: "I treasure history for the sake of delivering it to the future. I am marching toward the future, but there is still a long way to go."

The three characters represent the three different attitudes toward history. In terms of the novel as a whole, the author attempts to criticize and denounce Xu, sympathize with Sun and enthusiastically extol He. While the attitudes on history of the three characters of different types are somewhat different, one has no difficulty in finding similarities in their views on reality: Xu--disgust; Sun--boredom; He--nothing said. In a word, they all expressed dissatisfaction with reality--the reality after the downfall of the "gang of four." It is not a coincidence. One only has to scan the descriptions and reflections in the entire novel to see the attitude on reality as expressed by it.

Party committee secretary Xi Liu of C city university was an inflexible and hypocritical figure. In the old days, when he urged others to criticize the "bourgeois sentiments" and served as a famous "anti-rightist" hero, he had an illicit affair with his woman secretary. After the downfall of the "gang of four," he was reinstated to his former position. If he was rather competent in his work in the past, now all he was interested in was his own power and position. He felt that "I performed meritorious service in the past; I suffered misfortunes in the 10 years; now I have power," and concentrated on ways to recoup his personal losses in the 10 years. The impression given the readers is that such a cadre should not only be knocked down in the old days, but ousted today. Party committee office chairman You Ruoshui was a "wind faction" figure constantly prepared to counterattack and a "backbone" element in the "criticize Liu" and "criticize Deng" movements and in the denunciation of He Jingfu's so-called "revisionist viewpoint," while the real life fit him like hand and glove. Besides a certain professor and the woman propaganda department chief, all other members of the party committee took their cue from Xi Liu. As for the propaganda department chief of the C municipal party committee, he was a bureaucrat who disregarded the conditions of the people. Not just C city and its university, but even in Zhao Zhenhuan's provincial newspaper editorial department, it was still Wang Pangzi who, like a chameleon, enjoyed a prosperous bureaucratic fortune. According to the reports of several C city university alumni scattered in the various areas, the "reality" of such areas seemed to be about the same as C city and its university.--Such is the "reality" after the downfall of the "gang of four" unfolded before the readers by the novel! In the words of Sun Yue, the heroine, "the consequences and

causes of the 10-year turmoil are still found in today's reality!" No wonder she was "bored" with it. He Jingfu wanted to go beyond it and deliver history to the future, while Xu Hengzhong's comment of "over and over again" became an epitome of "philosophy!"

In "Two Strategies of the Social Democratic Party in the Democratic Revolution," Lenin pointed out: "Naturally, in a concrete historical environment, past and future components are intertwined, and previous and subsequent paths mutually crisscross each other." However, he immediately continued: "But it does not prevent us in the least bit to divide logically and historically the several major stages in the development process." In the novel "Man, Oh Man!," whether the concrete descriptions of reality or philosophical summaries of history, there is only the "past," but no "future." One cannot see the new replacing the old, and even less the momentous distinction between the two historical stages before and after the "gang of four." Actually, it absolutely is not merely a theoretical issue of how to regard history, but also an issue of how to regard the realistic and concrete politics. As everyone knows, the victory over Jiang Qing's counterrevolutionary clique in 1976 brought our country to a new historical period. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in December 1978, the momentous historical changes in our political life were facts which were obvious to the broad workers, peasants and soldiers, the intellectuals and all patriotic figures. However, all these are not correctly reflected in the novel. When a novel which is created after pondering and summarizing history actually disregards this great historical turn, can one say that it is compatible with the historical truth? The novel contains the following description of history: "It is like knitting. When there is a mistake, take it apart and do it over again. With a different knitting technique, it becomes a new garment, and no one can detect its former form." How should these words be interpreted?

Mocking the Revolutionary Ideal

Describing the adversities experienced by the intellectuals and expressing their views on life and ideals and the changes are another important content of the novel. In handling this important content, what does the author make one see and what does she explain?

In those years, the university students were filled with confidence, "always enthusiastic and joyous when talking about ideals, with happiness and shining eyes," vigorously preparing to realize the ideals by their own actions. Nevertheless, 30 years later, when they again met and discussed their ideals, they felt depressed and sighed with mixed emotions.

At the alumni reunion, Wu Chun read his poem in the Yuan style which figuratively summarized the life experiences of this group of alumni: "Were you and I once schoolmates? How ridiculous! One is smart in her bureaucrat's black gauze cap; the other's hair has grown long in jail. Her husband is a farmer; you, lady, are in commerce. I once rode a horse and carried a gun; he once pulled a cart to peddle sauce. What kind of higher institution of learning could train scholars of such diverse occupations?...."

In this kind of real life, ideals were abandoned. After a series of adversities, Wu Chun, who had once joyously registered to go to Xizang to serve its people, expressed the feelings in his heart: "Painstakingly pluck the white hairs on my temples and carefully bring up the children. Eat and drink to the full and live not this life on earth in vain." "If a son or daughter can be left to this world, one has not lived in vain." After "over and over again," Xu Hengzhong finally concluded that "99 percent of the people live without a goal. Or, one might say that living itself is the goal." Practicing the philosophy of "material benefit," he prepared to remarry! Meanwhile, Su Xiuzhen, who was "the lady in commerce," never had an ideal to start with; what she did have was an "ideal" bureaucrat husband. Therefore, she beamed with satisfaction and lived a better life than everyone else!

Sun Yue, who was "smart in her bureaucrat's black gauze cap," was a seeker of ideals, but failed to find the objective of her sacrifice in reality. "Those who know me say that I worry. Those who do not know me ask what I am looking for. Heaven is remote, and who is this?"--It was Sun Yue's lamentation. Undergoing the 10-year turmoil and facing the reality after the downfall of the "gang of four," she felt that she was like "Jia Baoyu after losing the magic jade, not knowing where to turn." The novel says that, in pursuit of the ideal, she paid with her youth, family and happiness, but what she gained was emptiness, "without even a receipt."

As for He Jingfu who was an ideal figure and who claimed that he "always firmly believed in communism," the result was "his hair growing long in jail." Even though he manifested his so-called firm faith in communism, what did his inner heart tell him? "Beginning with 'nothing' and ending with 'nothing,' a youngster turned into a semi-old man. Lying down, he still measured this long; standing up, he was still this tall. Stark naked, he was free from worry coming or going." Sad sentiments similar to it emerge in the novel more than once.

Perhaps in describing the characters of Xu Hengzhong, Su Xiuzhen and Wu Chun, the author's purpose is to criticize or negate their life philosophy, while the portrayals of He Jingfu and Sun Yue are for the sake of depicting the difficulties and tortuosities in the course of their pursuit of ideals. Nevertheless, the objective impression conveyed by the novel is: In this kind of real life, whoever with an ideal will encounter punishment, and only by abandoning the ideal will one be "happy and content with one's lot." The portrayal of the image of Li Yining in the novel concretely expresses this viewpoint. Li Yining underwent experiences similar to Sun Yue, but she separated the spiritual part from her life and abandoned her spiritual pursuit. Thereupon, "I am content; therefore, I am happy." She made the following statement: "I live without color and without scent, but also without wind and without waves. One must know that wind and waves often closely follow color and scent. If people pay attention to you, there will be those who wish to destroy you. If no one pays attention to you, you will be left in peace! What more does one want?" On the surface, the novel has reservations about Li Yining's life philosophy, but the fates and conclusions of the characters tell us: No upright and idealistic person has a good future, and only those with ugly souls

or who are extremely mediocre have an easy time. Does this not precisely confirm Li Yining's "life philosophy" which is in line with the philosophy of Laozi and Zhuangzi?

One should admit that the road of social progress is tortuous and the path of life rocky and rough. Furthermore, due to the long influence of the "leftwing" ideology and the 10-year turmoil, our socialist cause encountered twists and turns, and many people suffered agonies and misfortunes. Even today, our country is still confronted with many difficulties. In face of such reality, indeed there are some who feel pessimistic, depressed or hesitant. Viewed from this angle, the novel "Man, Oh Man!" possesses certain truthfulness. However, our literature should correctly reflect and explain life and lead it forward. It should "foster struggle, progress and beauty." Revealing the dark side of life is for the purpose of "influencing society and making it change." Especially in this new historical period when the new is replacing the old, our literature has the more reason to provide us with a progressive strength (naturally not concealment and deception). But unfortunately, "Man, Oh Man!" is filled with a sorrowful and depressed sentiment. It actually reflects, in the realm of literature, the "crisis of faith" mentioned by certain people in society. A young student remarked: "Reading the book, I was attracted by it, but after finishing it, I felt that life was bleak." We find that the feeling of this college student indicates that the novel's view on life and ideals possesses a rather negative element. If it is said that it also describes the active pursuit of revolutionary ideals by He Jingfu and others, then such description is in fact insipid. Or, one may say that the healthy atmosphere fails to subjugate the evil influence. As for the views on real life expressed in the novel by means of artistic imageries, we feel that they are one-sided and incorrect.

The author states in her "Postscript:" "We have entered the age of pondering, of change. Everyone is pondering; everyone has his own unique impressions and feelings; everyone has his own demands and fantasies, and is eager to tell others." "I wish to declare my sobriety to my fellow beings; thereupon, I write this novel." Precisely because "we have entered the age of pondering," each and every reader has the right to ponder and deliberate this novel which is the author's declaration of her sobriety, and determine whether it is correct in its evaluations of history and reality and reasonable in its analyses of life and ideals. Meanwhile, it is also necessary to consider whether its influence on the broad readers, especially the young, is positive or negative. We present the above views for instruction by the author and the broad readers.

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A BRIEF SUMMARY OF NOVEL 'MAN, OH MAN!'

Shanghai WENHUI BAO in Chinese 17 Oct 81 p 3

[Article: "'Man, Oh Man!!--a Synopsis"]

[Text] The novel "Man, Oh Man!" reflects the life of the intellectuals. With college life in a period after the downfall of the "gang of four" as the background, it recounts and describes the experiences of several intellectuals of different types since the anti-rightist struggle and expresses their different views on history and reality and on life and ideals. In a postscript, the author states that the common theme of "Man, Oh Man!" and his first novel "Death of a Poet" (unpublished) is "man." "I write about man's blood stains and tear streaks, about the painful moans of the twisted soul, and about the sparks of the heart exploding in darkness. I loudly appeal for 'the return of the soul' and joyously record the resuscitation of the human nature." "What I wish to advocate in the novel are precisely certain things which I criticized in the past; what I wish to express in it are precisely the 'human feelings' which I vigorously strove to subjugate and reform in the past."

The gist of the story is as follows:

The main female character Sun Yue was the party general branch secretary of the Chinese department in the C city university. In her days as a student, she was an eager, idealistic and talented young person with many interests. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," she was attacked for being a "follower" of party committee secretary Xi Liu. Meanwhile, her husband Zhao Zhenhuan, who grew up with her, found a new love and, taking advantage of her misfortune, arbitrarily divorced her. Thereupon, Sun, together with her daughter, began her life of difficulties. After the downfall of the "gang of four," Xi Liu was reinstated to his former position and Sun Yue was promoted as the party general branch secretary of the Chinese department. Nevertheless, in face of everything in real life at this time, she felt painful and bored. She discovered that her former belief was blind and wondered whether, instead of a magic jade, it was not merely an ordinary piece of stone.

Party committee secretary Xi Liu whom Sun Yue vigorously defended in former years was an inflexible and hypocritical individual. He was once a famous

"anti-rightist hero" in the university. Appearing to possess noble qualities on the surface, he secretly formed illicit relations with his own woman secretary Chen Yuli. When the scandal was revealed during the "Great Cultural Revolution," Chen Yuli was divorced by her husband. After his wife died, Xi Liu married her to "repay the debt." His son Xi Wang was dissatisfied with him, because even now, Xi Liu refused to look squarely at history, and still regarded the new situation and new issues with his ossified mind. Furthermore, he felt that "I rendered meritorious service in the past; I suffered misfortunes in the 10 years; now I have power" and concentrated on how to recoup his personal losses in the 10 years. Under this situation, Xi Wang enraged him by suggesting his retirement and left home. He felt that his split with his father was in the attitude on history and reality. Yet in the eyes of Xi Liu, Xi Wang was not only a refractory son, but a "true rebel."

He Jingfu, the hero in the novel, joined the party at 18 years of age. With aspirations and faith, he was an ideal figure which the novel spares no effort in portraying. While in college, he was wrongly branded as a rightist when he expressed his views to Xi Liu and tried to be fair and help a schoolmate applying for permission to visit relatives abroad. Thereafter, carrying with him the "Selected Works of Marx and Engels" and the "Dream of the Red Chambers," he led a life of wandering and existed in the lower stratum of society. The moment he was rehabilitated, he wrote a theoretical work entitled "Marxism and Humanitarianism" based on the experiential lessons of history. In daily life, he always treated others with the humanitarian spirit and gave no thought to personal gratitude or grudges. He enthusiastically and sincerely helped Xu Hengzhong who was the first to post large-letter posters against him in the anti-rightist movement. Though he had been deeply in love with Sun Yue for 20 years, when Sun's former husband Zhao Zhenhuan came to visit her and her daughter, he overlooked Zhao's mistakes and found the way for Zhao and his daughter to correspond with each other. As for Xi Liu who condemned him as a "rightist," he held no grudge, but urged Xi Wang to be good to his father. In short, he was the embodiment of human nature and humanitarianism.

However, in a figure like He Jingfu, Xi Liu and others found him dangerous and threatening. To them, his book on "Marxism and Humanitarianism" was a revisionist poison weed. They instigated You Ruoshui, a wind faction figure, to write comments and, by means of their connections with the propaganda department chief of the municipal party committee, suspended its printing. At this critical moment, Sun Yue disregarded the rumors and slanders, vigorously and justly fought the suspension, and resisted the wrong decision made by the party committee headed by Xi Liu. Though his work was banned, He Jingfu remained full of confidence and undismayed, manifesting the dignity and beauty of human nature.

In the course of the struggle, Sun Yue and He Jingfu drew ever closer. The end of the novel intimates that the publication of "Marxism and Humanitarianism" would soon be solved, while Sun Yue resuscitated her twisted human nature, recovered her individuality and dignity, and resolutely formed a perfect union with He Jingfu.

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CSO: 4005/253

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'WENYI BAO' ON MARXIST LITERARY, ART CRITICISM

HK170908 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese No 20, 22 Oct 81 pp 2-3

[Article by Wei Yi [7614 2496]: "Active Develop Marxist Literary and Art Criticism"]

[Text] In his important speech made on behalf of the CCP Central Committee at the meeting in commemoration of the centenary of Lu Xun's birth, Comrade Hu Yaobang incisively and realistically analyzed and estimated the achievements and problems and the main trends and minor aspects on the literary and art front in the past few years. He earnestly pointed out: Literary and art work is one of the fields with many achievements to its credit. However, there are also certain unhealthy, negative features which harm the people. To promote the healthy development of literature and art, it is absolutely necessary to practice criticism and self-criticism correctly, restore and develop this fine tradition. He also pointed out in a particularly emphatic way: "Comrades in literary and art circles and on the whole ideological front have an extremely important role to play in learning how to use this treasure correctly. If you on the cultural front are good troops with good weapons, you can be of great assistance to the party in carrying out the historic task of building up a splendid socialist culture."

The strong urging and reminder of the CCP Central Committee have given us much food for thought. It is necessary for us to review our work, sum up experiences and lessons, conscientiously wield the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, and resolutely overcome the various shortcomings and errors in our work in order to shoulder the glorious historical task conscientiously.

Developing scientific and militant Marxist literary and art criticism is an important link in promoting the development of socialist literature and art. Just as Lu Xun said, it has the two basic aspects of "pulling out the weeds and watering the flowers." In the past few years, guided and inspired by the guidelines of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the literary and art circles which suffered destruction at the hands of the "gang of four" in a hundred and one ways have inspired revolutionary enthusiasm, strove to promote the prosperity of creation and achieved very great successes. This is precisely a reflection of the powerful socialist trends of thought in our social life. Although we have done some essential work in watering flowers and fostering new talents, we cannot say we have done it very sufficiently and in a very deep-going way. With respect to some good works that are imbued with the spirit of

the times, they should naturally be vigorously promoted, and should continue to be given incisive and scientific analysis and expositions as well as affirmations in a clear-cut manner. However, what merits our attention now is that we have not taken sufficiently into account certain unhealthy and negative phenomena in literature and art so that our work in this aspect seems to be weak and inadequate. With respect to the present conditions in literary and art creation, we have not studied, approached and guided them in a deep-going manner and, with respect to certain bourgeois liberalization tendencies in literary and art work in particular, we lack incisive and militant literary and art criticism to a more serious extent. This merits our great attention and must be changed resolutely.

For some time in the past, there have been some absurd arguments on literary and art ideas. For example, some people consider that, the further literary and art is removed from politics, the better. They even go so far as to consider that creation has no objective whatsoever, or since its objective is art for its own sake, it is not necessary to consider social effects and the needs of the masses. This is in fact the refurbished version of "art for art's sake" which long ago proved bankrupt. Some people consider that literature should write about "self," thinking that only by hiding in a narrow "self" is it possible to have "immortal" creation. The works written under the sway of this viewpoint even send out the curse and the plaintive whine of "hating both mankind and life." Some others asserted that abstract human nature alone is the motive force in developing creation and the bourgeois theory of human nature and humanitarianism alone are the supreme spiritual realm. They hold in esteem and publicize bourgeois world outlook to such an extent that they confuse cardinal questions of right and wrong in history and obscure the demarcation line between the enemy and ourselves. Still others publicly advocate that since literature should portray sentiments, it cannot do without the depiction of sex. They consider the portrayal of sex as an "essential factor" of literature and so, by flaunting the imposing banner of the so-called "portrayal of sentiments," they wantonly play up obscene and vulgar interests and indulge in disgusting descriptions. Still others assert that opposing feudalism is the chief and fundamental task of literature. They exaggerate the influence of feudal ideas left over from old China and confuse socialist new China and the feudal system. We should by no means overlook the chaos and pernicious influence brought about by all these. However, we often fail to promote vigorous and scientific Marxist literary and art criticism to counter these erroneous ideas on literature and art.

The reasons for this phenomenon are also complicated. Some are due to over-anxiety. They are afraid that the promotion of criticism will adversely affect the new situation in literature and art that has just been restored. Some have drawn on historical experience in a negative way. They are so fearful of being regarded as the "big stick" that they abandon principle and assume the Philistine attitude of "growing more flowers but less thorns." Some lack a correct understanding of emancipation of the mind and the "double hundred" policy and take a laissez-faire attitude toward some obviously erroneous stands and views that violate the four basic principles without waging the necessary struggle. Some others fail to distinguish between right and wrong on many issues or strike a sympathetic chord in different degrees with bourgeois liberalization trends of thought. Thus, it is impossible to resist erroneous literary and art ideas, help the writers and unite and educate the people, and this is disadvantageous to the healthy development of socialist literature and art.

There is an argument that active promotion of Marxist literary and art criticism to overcome the erroneous tendencies in literary and art work shows that we are going to "restrict," and to discard the "double hundred" policy. If this is not a contravention of normal criticism, then it is a great misunderstanding. To promote literary and art criticism is exactly implied in the "double hundred" policy. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "There will always be wrong things and ugly phenomena. There will always be such opposites as the right and the wrong, the good and the evil, the beautiful and the ugly. The same is true of fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. The relationship between them is one of the unity and struggle of opposites. Only by comparing can one distinguish. Only by making distinctions and waging struggle can there be development. Truth develops through its struggle against falsehood. This is how Marxism develops." Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Carrying out the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend will not weaken, but strengthen, the leading position of Marxism in the ideological field." One-sided understanding of the "double hundred" policy and neglect and obliteration of the importance of criticism and self-criticism can only give rise to the situation pointed out by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his speech: "If we allow weeds and flowers to grow together, without the requisite struggle, there is bound to be chaos in our literature and art."

In order to seriously overcome weakness and laxity in our work and promote the healthy development of socialist literature and art, an urgent matter before us is to seriously develop Marxist literary and art criticism. Lu Xun said: "It is imperative to have more genuine criticism because here lies the hope for the generation of new and genuine literature and art and new criticism." "It is necessary to urge the generation of the new and, with regard to the old that harm the new, make every effort to remove them." The CCP Central Committee and Lu Xun called on us to make tremendous efforts in this aspect with their sincere advice.

Our purpose in advocating and developing Marxist literary and art criticism is to approach and comment literary and art phenomena scientifically and in a down-to-earth manner according to Marxist literary and art principles. When promoting literary and art criticism, it is also inevitable that some oversimplified and crude elements should emerge that violate the scientific law of literature and art and may not be helpful to the development of socialist literature and art. Only by launching vigorous criticism and self-criticism can we overcome this phenomenon and develop Marxist literary and art science in struggle.

CSO: 4005/365

'WENYI BAO' ON PATRIOTISM IN LITERARY WORKS

HK170340 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese No 20, 22 Oct 81 pp 6-8

[Article by Duan Gengxin [3008 2577 2450]: "A Brief Discussion of the Patriotic Spirit in Literary works in Recent Years"]

[Text] In recent creative literary work, writers have confronted both the socialist motherland's social reality of replacing the old with the new, and the universal social mentality of mass determination to accomplish the four modernizations and renovate China. Therefore, the works of many writers have happened to coincide in reflecting or touching on the theme of patriotism in literature.

Patriotism in real life is a kind of deep feeling for the motherland that has taken shape and been consolidated in the minds of the masses of people for hundreds and thousands of years. In the short story "The Soul and the Body," Xu Lingjun's father wants him to go abroad, but he refuses. He shows his constant loyal love for his motherland by not being swayed by the affluent life abroad. In the short story "Empty Nest," Lao Liang, an old scholar who has lived abroad for many years, is weary of living alone far from the homeland and this weariness rouses his boundless loyal love for his motherland. By not being able to leave, or longing to return to, the motherland, both the above characters have shown the Chinese people's traditional fine virtue of cherishing a deep love for the motherland and also shows the people's understanding and appraisal of the reality in the new socialist historical period of the motherland.

Patriotism is a historical concept, and its content is not only one of traditional inheritance but is also realistically concrete. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions." "(The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War)" In the present new socialist historical period, the love of the motherland is inseparable from the love of the motherland's socialist system. Only socialism can save China and make it prosperous. The motherland that Xu Lingjun and Lao Liang love is not the old China Xu's father and Lao Liang left, but the socialist new China. Though our motherland suffered the tribulation of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and is, therefore, facing difficulties now, they are still doing their best to serve their motherland out of their pure love for it. Such portrayals quite truly reflect the attractiveness of the socialist system and the force of appeal in the great renovation of the motherland. There has never been abstract patriotism or patriotism without principles. Today, patriotism is mainly shown in our people's strong desire to adhere to the socialist orientation and to reform and build the motherland under the party's leadership and in their undaunted struggle to realize this desire.

Real life in the recent years in our country has had the characteristics of the initial period of a new historical period. The motherland has just recovered from serious damage and the people have just risen up from disasters. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has followed the tide of the times, investigated the people's desires, feelings, and attitudes and done a great deal of work in bringing order out of chaos and in reforming and readjusting various fields of social life. During this period, the people have followed the party and joined it in planning the future of the motherland. Generally speaking, the literary works over recent years have reflected the reality of this period, shown concern for the prospects for the motherland and the destiny of the people, revealed the social mentalities of this period and expressed the Chinese people's patriotism.

We can see in many works in recent years that they are distinctly characterized by a strong realistic spirit of being loyal to the motherland, the party and the people. Because of this spirit, our literature does not avoid mentioning the setbacks and errors in the course of our victory when describing the advance and victory of socialism. Because of this spirit, when depicting the Chinese people's march towards the four modernizations, it does not cover up the difficulties, obstacles and troubles we meet, especially the tremendous disasters that Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk brought to the motherland and the people. Furthermore, it makes widespread investigation of the social and historical conditions that gave rise to these disasters and difficulties. These literary works have vividly told us that developing the socialist system and giving play to the superiority of socialism is not smooth sailing and that sometimes there will be unforeseeable grave sabotage and setbacks. On the one hand, the socialist system is still at a stage of having just been created, and it will take time for us to explore and master the objective laws governing the development of the socialist cause. On the other hand, in our socialist society, there still exist various remnants of old China. Facts have shown these to be a great historical burden that we have underestimated. The economic backwardness, the underdevelopment of science and culture, the existence of subjectivism, putschism, bureaucracy, privilege-seeking ideas, dogmatism, rigidity and conservatism in thought and other various kinds of antiscientific and nonproletarian ideologies and the activities of careerists that resulted from various causes have made it impossible to give proper play to the superiority of socialism and delayed the realization of the goal of building a powerful socialist country. Since the founding of the PRC, there has been an earth-shaking change in the appearance of our motherland, and great results have been achieved in building socialism, but for a long time before the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our socialist ship was drifting around the same navigational mark. The Chinese people and other people on this socialist ship shared the same lot in fair weather and foul and were unable to avoid the torrents and shoals and reach their destination in triumph. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk were the scum of the nation and a group of infamous robbers. For a long time they carried out, and wantonly propagated, feudal despotism, anarchism, out-and-out egoism, the closed-door policy and parochial arrogance. Their corrupted style of forming gangs and scrambling for power and profit did not disappear with their collapse and has, therefore, become an obstacle to the four modernizations. The short novel "Soil" criticizes the expansion of the scope of class struggle resulting from the "leftist" guiding

ideology and the feudal fascism of the "gang of four." In a soliloquy that depicts the mind of one of its characters, it develops, in a manner full of warning, the following theme: "True, it is important to improve the soil, but it is more important to improve the soil of the society." The reportage "between human beings and demons" thoroughly analyzes the motherland's disasters and the people's misfortunes by narrating the facts in the true case of the Wang Shouxin corrupt group. In the end, it gives a severe warning: "Dear readers, you have to be on your guard!" These two books and many others that are similar in nature show that the literary works over the recent years dare to speak the truth and to voice true feelings on the history and reality of the motherland. The historical experience and realistic truth they point out will undoubtedly play a tremendous role by providing reference for, and encouraging, those who are engaged in the four modernizations today. They are staunch in their patriotic aspirations and deep patriotic feelings pervade them.

Patriotism in literature is by no means an indication of narrow nationalism or national obscurantism, but of a sense of responsibility and a sense of mission for the future of the motherland and the destiny of the people. Amid the clamor of the national calamities, Lu Xun countered the practices of some people who were keen on making a study of the "history of national subjugation" of other nations by pointing out that in order to "make our nation prosperous" we should "first of all make a study of ourselves." Our situation today differs greatly from that in Lu Xun's times. However, our motherland is faced with the task of a new renovation under new historical conditions. Naturally therefore, "making a study of ourselves" has become an unshirkable duty for patriotic literature. The literary works over the recent years have followed the party Central Committee in bringing order out of chaos, summed up experiences, criticized the social evils, propagated the truth and praised the healthy practices. This is precisely a prominent manifestation of patriotism. It makes the people understand their motherland and its true needs in order to turn their patriotism into striving to serve the motherland.

A few literary works over the recent years have excessively played up the setbacks in the course of the motherland's advance or the disasters during the decade of turmoil in the motherland, or even scared the people and the writers themselves by simply showing the nightmares of history. This is certainly not praiseworthy. It is also not praiseworthy that in some works the characters are described as morally debased and dirty in order to show the gravity of the disasters in history. Even if their descriptions are, to a certain extent, true in detail, they fail to reflect the essential aspect of the advancing China and its people and will only result in distorting the image of the motherland and will cause people to lose their confidence in improving their country. In treating the so-called "theme of returning to the motherland" or the theme of international contacts, some works lose their proper stand by beautifying the enemy or even lose national self-respect. Such works are far from patriotic. This is a wrong road which we should be on our guard against following. The number of works of this kind is small, but we should not fail to pay attention to them.

Most of the literary works over the recent years differ diametrically from these works. When they reveal the setbacks and damage the motherland suffered in its advance, they do not indulge in sentimental grieving over past misfortunes, nor

do they become pessimistic or lose hope in the face of the present mountains of difficulties. On the contrary, they show the great strength and will of China's sons and daughters in overcoming difficulties and hardships. These works show that the enlightened Chinese people will give no thought to their personal gains or losses as far as their motherland is concerned, will place the interests of their motherland above everything and, under all conditions, will devote their emotions, painstaking labor, efforts and even lives to their motherland to make it prosperous, rich and powerful and to thereby bring happiness to all mankind. In the short novel "Disasters Rise From Inside," Fu Lianshan steadfastly fights against local and departmental selfishness for the interests of the state as a whole. In the reportage "A Voiceless Magnificent Song," the 23-year old woman party member Fan Xiongxiang, as if she were a bomb, willingly plunged into the surging waters of the Bohai Sea in order to rouse her compatriots to fight against the unhealthy practices that harm the state and the people. Wang Yunnian in the reportage "Motherland Above Everything" and Yuan Yunsheng in "Devoted Love" do not consider their personal grievances, but ardently wish to contribute their knowledge, skill and art to the four modernizations of their motherland. In the short novel "When Middle-Age is Reached," Lu Wenting "does not dare forget the suffering of her country." She bears her suffering and the unsurmountable difficulties in her heart and always silently remembers "the call of the motherland." By sharing weal and woe with the motherland, she also observes the principles of "the motherland above everything" and "our cause above everything." Liu Maomei in the short story "Anecdote on the Western Front" and Zhao Qingsen in "Fighters Pass the Mine Field" shed their blood in fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors and bravely give their young lives in defending the motherland and its four modernizations. In the reportage "Captain," Bei Hanting assiduously studies navigation and shipping and in his dealings with foreign businessmen, he is not only polite, but also "ironhanded." The civilization, healthy trends and national sense of pride of the Chinese nation are embodied in him... All these characters have more or less shared the socialist experience of the motherland and carry the "scars" on their bodies caused by the decade of "civil turmoil," but they remain as firm as a rock in loving and serving their motherland and pledge not to change their minds as long as they live. They are the backbone of the Chinese nation. By depicting such a large number of glorious images of the people who understand their times and love their motherland on the basis of real life, the literary works over the recent years convincingly show that there are great hopes for China and they have thereby realized the general theme of "the experiences of many hardships contribute to making the nation prosperous" in our country's literature over the recent years.

Everything which flows from veins is blood. The problem of patriotism in literature is first of all a problem of creative thinking. The literary works over the recent years prove that whatever a writer writes, if he attaches importance to the prospects and future of his country, nation and people, he can express patriotic ideas and feelings in his works. It is better that we understand the problem of patriotism in literature in a broader sense than make our understanding of it narrow, isolated and absolute by limiting the expression of patriotism to certain themes and forms. This will not only facilitate the continuous emancipation of the writers' minds and the prosperity of creative literary work, but, in the final analysis, will also make us understand, in reality how great the potential for patriotism is in Chinese people's hearts. This will augment our nation's self-confidence and will improve it, thus strengthening our confidence in realizing the four modernizations and the renovation of the Chinese nation and inspire us to carry on this great cause to its final victory.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON 'LOVE' IN LITERATURE, ART

HK270238 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0748 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Beijing, 26 Nov (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--GUANGMING RIBAO devotes the whole of its third page today to the "Discussion on How to Express Love in Literature and Art Creations." There is an editor's note at the top of the page as well as four articles which put forth their respective views on the description of love in the play "Northern Lights," which is adapted from a novel of the same name by young female writer Zhang Kangkang, and in the play "The Moon Shines Bright on People for the First Time," which adapted from a medium-length novel of the same name, and is being put on for the first time by the China Youth Art Ensemble.

The "editor's note" says that the masses of readers and theatergoers have vigorously resented and sharply criticized the unhealthy tendencies in the presentation of the love theme in the past few years, the erroneous depictions of the relationships between love and revolution, between love and the socialist cause and between love and morality reflected in some works, and especially those works which contain exaggerated, unhealthy and ignoble descriptions of love. There are also quite a few people who think that the occurrence of a large number of literary and art works on the love theme in the past few years has reflected the fact that the literary and art workers have broken into the forbidden zones and emancipated their minds and as a result, a number of good works that are relatively fine in both their ideological content and artistic value have occurred. Therefore, they think that this is something to be affirmed.

The "editor's note" also says, "how to treat the description of love in literary and art creations has already become a problem that concerns the healthy development of literature and art which requires our attention."

On this page, GUANGMING RIBAO also publishes a report entitled, "Forbidden Zones, Busy Zones and Civilized Zones," written by one of its reporters. This report examines the "get-together on the problem of love theme" which was sponsored by the editorial department of "ZUOPIN XU ZHENGMING" ["WORKS AND CONTENTION"] the journal of the Association of Current Literary Research at the beginning of November. Over 50 people attended the get-together, among them were some of the writers in Beijing, literary and art critics and research workers in literary and art theory.

Those who spoke at the get-together unanimously held that when one passes one's judgment on the love between adults in new China, one should conform with reality, the spirit of the times and the national customs, the socialist legal system (especially the "marriage law") and the communist morals in our society, and that one should not emphasize wooing, embracing, kissing and placing love above everything which has been imported from the capitalist world, simply because one chooses to do so.

They also held that life is complicated as well as colorful. Therefore, there should be hundreds and thousands of ways of depicting love instead of developing a few stereotyped patterns. In the recent past, a formula of creation has become vogue: "X (denotes some kind of theme) plus conflict plus love equals a piece of work." This is an example of a stereotyped pattern. During the period when we were celebrating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution, more than 10 versions of "Cai E and Xiao Fengxian" were performed simultaneously on stages in Beijing and Shanghai. Such a large number of plays that are very much the same was also the result of the development of a few stereotyped patterns caused by seeking love themes like a swarm of bees alighting on one flower.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEBEI PROVINCE STRAIGHTENS OUT TEACHING FORCE

HK161456 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Excerpts] In winter last year, our province started the work of straightening out the force of teachers in schools run by local people. It basically completed this work by the middle of November this year. After the examination work, the whole province has continued to employ some 200,000 teachers in schools run by local people. Before straightening out the force of teachers, our province had some 250,000 teachers in middle and primary schools run by local people. Many of them made very great contributions toward developing the cause of education. Due to the 10 years' turmoil and under the influence of the leftist mistakes, in the force of teachers in schools run by local people there existed the problems of an excessive number of teachers, slightly low teaching quality and chaotic management. The cadres and the masses in the rural areas urgently demanded that the force of teachers in schools run by local people be straightened out in an all-round way. The main experience gained in straightening out the force of teachers in schools run by local people was:

First, CCP committees and governments at all levels must strengthen leadership over straightening out the force of teachers in schools run by local people, and this is a guarantee for the successful progress of the work of straightening out the force of teachers. In August this year, the provincial CCP committee and the provincial government transmitted the request for instructions from the provincial education bureau and the report by them on straightening out the force of teachers in middle and primary schools run by local people. They instructed all places to be practical and realistic, adhere to principle, be strict, serious, conscientious and meticulous, and penetratingly and carefully do the work of straightening out the force of teachers in schools run by local people. With a view to doing this work well, all prefectures and counties have set up leadership groups and many counties have held meetings of various kinds to publicize to the cadres, the masses and the teachers the great significance of straightening out the force of teachers in schools run by local people. Straightening out the force of teachers in schools run by local people involved the employment or discharge of personnel and has a bearing on the personal interests of the teachers. In the course of straightening out the force of teachers, departments at all levels of the party and the government and education administrative departments have adhered to principle and not practiced favoritism. This has created favorable conditions for the work of straightening out the force of teachers.

Second, it is essential to persistently conduct all-round examination of all teachers in schools run by local people. In the course of straightening out the force of teachers in schools run by local people, all places throughout the province have had to completely examine the attitude toward work, the professional level, the effects of education and the cultural levels of the teachers in schools run by local people. They have had to lay a foundation for completely appraising and selecting each teacher in schools run by local people. As this work has been done relatively carefully, those who have been kept on are happy and those who have been discharged are sincerely convinced.

Third, it is necessary to link the work of straightening out the force of teachers in schools run by local people with the internal readjustment of education. Many prefectures and counties have adhered to the principle of reducing the number of senior middle schools, rationally arranging junior middle schools and reinforcing primary schools and started the internal readjustment of education. They have laid stress on the examination of teachers in schools run by the state as well as on the examination of teachers in schools run by local people. Teachers in schools run by the state who are incompetent to teach in middle schools can be sent to teach lower classes. This method is also applicable to teachers in schools run by local people. By doing so we can guarantee the teaching force of the key middle schools and reinforce the teaching force of the primary schools. After straightening out the force of teachers in schools run by local people, the whole province has reduced redundant personnel and solved the problem of an excessive number of teachers. According to the statistics compiled by the provincial education bureau, the whole province has discharged some 50,000 teachers in schools run by local people, can save 10 million yuan of education funds each year and has also reduced the peasants' burdens. On the basis of straightening out the force of teachers, county cultural and education bureaus have universally established records of teachers in schools run by local people, strengthened management of them and avoided the situation where grassroots cadres discharge or change at will teachers in schools run by local people. Straightening out the force of teachers is advantageous to increasing the remuneration for teachers in schools run by local people and to inspiring the masses' enthusiasm in running schools. This has laid a foundation for universally improving the teaching quality.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING 'WANBAO' ON DEALING WITH 'BLACK SHEEP'

HK101055 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 13 Nov 81 p 3

["Evening Talk" article by Xin Wen [6580 2429]: "We Must Deal With Black Sheep"]

[Text] Following the publication by Beijing WANBAO of a reader's letter saying that we should promptly improve order on route 332 buses, the bus company sent out vast numbers of comrades to maintain order at bus stops and the orderliness of passengers on route 332 buses soon showed a marked improvement. This spirit of modestly accepting criticism and fervently serving the masses is highly commendable.

The problem at present is that there is an extremely small minority of passengers who are creating disorder and who are thus the black sheep. Most people who wait for buses behave in an orderly manner. These black sheep, however, though they are neither pregnant nor carrying children, push in front of others. When people try to tell them off, the gentler type of black sheep will grin, the rougher type will grind their teeth and stare at you and a whole stream of swear words will issue forth from their mouths. Some will even get violent and cause absolute chaos. The other day, on my way back from work, I bumped into just such a character at the stop next to the zoo. He had a style of his own: "Us lads don't know what shame is. You can shout as much as you like for all I care! In the end, it's still numero uno who'll get on first! You just watch!" Thereupon he elbowed a middle-aged person off the bus and climbed on himself. He then turned around and shouted in a loud voice: "So long! Numero uno is off now!" How infuriating this was!

Since it is impossible to reason with these black sheep, we should think of some suitable way to teach them orderliness. In Guangzhou Municipality, they recently started an "experimental method of city hygiene control," whereby people who spit or discard fruit peel indiscriminately are fined 0.5 yuan or sentenced to between 1 and 2 hours of road-sweeping. People who discard things, spit or pour things out of buildings or buses indiscriminately are fined or sentenced to twice the amount. People who dump litter indiscriminately are fined between 2 and 5 yuan. Those who take over parts of a public thoroughfare and pile things up or erect structures indiscriminately are fined 5 yuan per square meter per day, and so on. After its implementation, the city looked like new. Would it be possible for the capital to conduct a similar experiment to improve order on public transport? Fines hurt. Perhaps we can use them to bring across to some people the concept of what should and should not be done. This is called teaching by punishment and is a necessary guarantee for the improvement of public order. I suggest that the relevant authorities look into this problem.

CSO: 4005/365

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEI MONGGOL HOLDS BIRTH CONTROL WORK CONFERENCE

SK160858 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Dec '81

[Text] A regional conference on publicizing birth control work was recently held in Hohhot. It pointed out that to turn the call of the party and the state into a voluntary birth control campaign by the cadres and the masses, we must attach prime importance to propaganda and education work and conduct meticulous and penetrating ideological and political work to make the people understand the importance of controlling population growth so that they will voluntarily practice birth control.

The conference held: Our region has scored remarkable achievements in birth control in the past few years thanks to the concern of party committees at all levels and the efforts of the cadres and the masses. The region's natural population growth rate declined from 26.1 per thousand in 1970 to 11.05 per thousand in 1980. Among the region's 2.5 million women of child-bearing age, about 1.9 million have adopted various kinds of contraceptive measures. The birth control rate is 37 percent. Our region now has 300,000 one-child young couples, of which 115,300 have received one-child certificates.

The conference noted: Children delivered after liberation account for 65 percent of the region's total population; therefore, about 185,000 youths will reach marriage and child-bearing age each year. If we slacken our efforts to control the birth rate, population growth will surge. Moreover, implementation of various forms of production responsibility systems in the rural areas has enlivened the rural economy and promoted production. The rural commune members have more grain and meat and more money in their pockets. Many have built new houses and arranged weddings for their sons. This is a very gratifying scene. However, such a situation creates difficulties in birth control work. Our region's birth control task will be more arduous than ever in the days to come. Consequently, all localities must conduct earnest and meticulous propaganda and education work to change the peasants' view that they are free to give birth because they can maintain a balance between income and expenditure, that they have enough food grain and that more manpower means greater progress. All localities must also encourage commune members to acquaint themselves with the status of the local population, the territory, its natural resources and productive capacity while considering their own benefits, and educate the masses to reject immediate interests and to realize that birth control affects the economic development of the state and the interests of the people. Birth control is a strategic measure in line with the long-term interests of all people throughout the region.

All localities must extensively and penetratingly publicize the advantages of birth control for the state, the collectives and individuals and disseminate among the peasants policies on late marriage, late birth, fewer but healthier children and contraception. At the same time, efforts must be made to publicize exemplary persons and good deeds on the birth control front in order to create a social practice that it is a glorious act to practice birth control.

The conference also made arrangements for publicizing birth control during the winter-spring period and new year periods.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ZHOU YANG DISCUSSES CULTURAL READJUSTMENT

HK170805 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1339 GMT 16 Dec 81

[Excerpts of Zhou Yang's speech at meeting of All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles]

[Text] Beijing, 16 Dec (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--Zhou Yang, chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, at an enlarged meeting of the presidium of the federation said that cultural readjustment must adapt to and coordinate with the tempo of economic readjustment; otherwise our four modernizations work will be impeded.

In accordance with the views and suggestions on literature and art recently made by the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Zhou Yang said that the question of readjustment is the central topic under discussion in the political life of the country. We cannot afford to wait for the success of economic readjustment before carrying out cultural readjustment. They should be carried out in concert and be coordinated with each other. We should understand that the whole economic and cultural readjustment is a revolution as well as a major change. We must not only carry out organizational readjustment, but also ideological readjustment.

In dealing with getting rid of bureaucracy and resisting the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization, Zhou Yang said: Opposing bureaucracy means changing such phenomena as overstaffing, working in a dilatory manner, shifting responsibility to others and wasting and stifling real talent. This is a problem demanding immediate attention and cautious handling. He said: There is a limit to combating the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization. We cannot describe the violation of law and discipline, speculation and manipulation or corruption and degeneration in the economic field as liberalization. Liberalization precisely refers to those unhealthy tendencies which deviate from the socialist course and from party leadership in the ideological sphere. We must make a distinction between opposing the tendency toward liberalization and safeguarding socialist literature and art. In order to guarantee the proper development of literature and art, we must guarantee freedom and democracy which are so essential to literary and art workers. At the same time, we must also oppose ultrademocracy and anarchism.

Zhou Yang made eight suggestions in his speech. He emphasized that the literary and art circles must practice unity and the cultural institutions must provide

better service to the literary and art workers, and held that cultural institutions must not only provide planned guidance but also avoid crudely interfering with them. He said: The most striking problem at present is the quality of the scripts for television, films and plays. I hope that everybody will take notice of them. Zhou Yang stressed: In literature and art we must be especially carefully in portraying nationalities relations. Apart from historical authenticity, we must not damage the image of the minority nationalities or hurt their feelings. The minority nationalities are a part of the socialist motherland, and they have also made enormous contributions to the culture of the Chinese nation.

In conclusion, Zhou Yang stressed the need for giving prominence to the ideological self-cultivation and moral education of the literary and art workers. Scholars should change their attitude from that of despising one another to that of respecting one another. There should be a feeling of intimacy and not of enmity among people of the same occupation.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

SICHUAN VOLLEYBALL TEA PARTY--On the afternoon of 3 December, the Sichuan Provincial Physical Culture Committee, the Provincial Education Department, the Provincial Bureau of Higher Education, the Provincial Organ Affairs Administrative Bureau, the Provincial Tourism Bureau, the Culture Department of the Chengdu Military Region, the Provincial Federation of Trade Unions, the Provincial CYL Committee, the Provincial Youths' Federation, the Provincial Students' Federation, the Provincial Women's Federation, the Provincial Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the Provincial Federation of Overseas Chinese, the Provincial Physical Culture General Branch Association, the Chengdu Physical Culture College and the Municipal Physical Culture Committee jointly held a tea party in the Chengdu Jinjiang guesthouse to welcome three Sichuan players of the Chinese women's volleyball team, who returned to their hometowns to spend their leave and visit relatives. Responsible comrades of the party, government and army in the province and the municipality, including Yang Rudai, He Haoju, Liu Haiquan, Wang Dingyi and (Wang Zhong); responsible comrades of relevant units at the provincial level; and representatives of provincial and municipal physical culture circles, some 150 people altogether, attended the tea party. Yang Rudai and He Haoju, provincial CCP committee secretaries and vice governors, spoke. [HK101233 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 3 Dec 81]

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TAIWAN DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE HOLDS COUNCIL MEETING

OW210532 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1547 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Beijing, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--The second plenary session of the Second Council of the general office of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League was held in Beijing from 15 to 18 December. Acting in accordance with the guidelines adopted by the fourth session of the fifth NPC and the fourth session of the fifth CPPCC National Committee, the conference decided to give fuller play to the role of all league members and the enthusiasm of Taiwan compatriots whom they associated with in order to make concrete contributions to the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the completion of the great cause of reunification. Attending the conference were some 40 council members and alternate council members of the General Office of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League and the responsible personnel of local branches from 12 provinces and municipalities throughout the country.

The conference summed up work accomplished since the conclusion of the first plenary session of the Council in October 1977. The conference pointed out that under the leadership of the CCP, the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League has made new developments in its own work while serving the four modernizations and motherland reunification. Over the past 2 years and more, the League has established and perfected its organs of leadership at various levels and recruited a group of outstanding personnel from different fields of work. Meanwhile, efforts have also been made to earnestly cooperate with the departments concerned to implement the policies on Taiwan compatriots, expeditiously reflect the opinions and demands of Taiwan compatriots, and to adopt different methods to commend the advanced personnel who have distinguished themselves in supporting the four modernizations. The various organizations of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League has gradually played an important role of a bridge that links the party and government with the masses of Taiwan compatriots.

With regard to the major tasks in the future, the conference decided to follow the nine-point policy on Taiwan put forward by Chairman Ye Jianying and the guideline of the speech delivered by Hu Yaobang at the Beijing rally in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of 1911 Revolution, give fuller play to the initiative of all league members and the Taiwan compatriots whom they associated with, strengthen the contracts with the people from all walks of life in Taiwan, improve mutual understanding, help them to unite under the banner of patriotism at an early date, and to make contributions to the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

The conference also unanimously approved alternate council members Wang Wande, Lu Shuishen and Xu Jinxing as council members.

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